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ABSTRACT

This publication contains reports on the status of teaching and research in political science in ten countries in the Asia-Pacific Region. These reports prepared according to a common guideline provide an opportunity for comparison. The essays review how political science has grown and taken root in the respective countries; the problems it faces; and future directions. Following an introduction, "Issues and Perspectives in Political Science in Asia and the Pacific," the country status reports for Japan, Republic of Korea, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, India, Bangladesh, Australia, and New Zealand are presented. (KWL)

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Social Sciences in Asia and the Pacific **10**
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POLITICAL SCIENCE IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Status Reports on Teaching and Research in Ten Countries

Editor: Takeo Uchida

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FOR EDUCATION IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
Bangkok, 1984

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Editor: Takeo Uchida

UNESCO REGIONAL OFFICE
FOR EDUCATION IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
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PREFACE

Unesco has recently completed a series of country surveys on the status of social sciences in various countries in Asia and the Pacific, the results of which were published in four issues of *Social Sciences in Asia* (Reports and Papers in the Social Sciences, 1976-1980). For each country, the social sciences were reviewed under four headings: historical background; institutional framework for teaching and research; major issues in the social sciences; perspectives for social science development; and recommendations for regional and international co-operation. This set of surveys provided a basic source of information about social science infrastructures and policies. Both social scientists as well as governments have found the series quite useful. These are now being updated and published as a single volume.

As a sequel to these general surveys, Unesco launched a series of surveys on trends in particular social science disciplines. The first set of reports under this series was devoted to the twin disciplines of Sociology and Social Anthropology in twelve countries in Asia and the Pacific, and was carried out in 1979-1980. In the year 1981, similar surveys were planned for Political Science, Economics, and Philosophy.

The purpose of this set of surveys is to make available to the reader a comparative picture of the growth of various social science disciplines in the Asia-Pacific region.

The volume on *Sociology and Social Anthropology in Asia and the Pacific* is being brought out as co-publication of Unesco with Messrs Wiley Eastern Ltd. The surveys on Philosophy in Asia and the Pacific were discussed at the Unesco regional meeting held in Bangkok in February 1983; these are being published from Unesco, Paris. This Unit has undertaken the publication of the two volumes: on *Political Science,* and *Economics.*

Present volume contains reports on the status of teaching and research in Political Science in ten countries of the Asia-Pacific region. These reports depict the regional component of the history of this discipline. Written specially for this volume, these essays have followed a common guideline and thus provide an opportunity for comparison. This is first venture of its kind in the region; it reviews the growth of political science and makes available at one place the information about the way the discipline has grown and taken roots in different countries, the problems that it faces, and the future directions it proposes to take.

These essays have been edited by *Dr Takeo Uehida,* who was until recently with Unesco and who had been a party to the decision regarding such an exercise. Although now with the U.N. University, Dr Uchida kindly agreed to edit the essays and write an overview paper to serve as an *introduction* to this volume.

ONE

ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC : *Takeo Uchida*[*]

When W.J.M. MacKenzie prepared a survey on political science for Unesco in the late 1960s, he found three patterns in this academic discipline which he named "the United States pattern," "the English pattern," and "the European pattern" respectively. Political science in Asian countries, notably India, was grouped under the English pattern although American influence there was admitted. If MacKenzie's classification did reflect and respond to the global situation of the discipline at that time, does the situation remain the same in the 1980s? If not, what has happened to political science in Asia during the past decade or so? The present publication attempts to answer this question through the state-of-the-art reports on political science in ten countries in the Asian and Pacific region written for Unesco in the course of 1981-1983.

Before we embark upon the examinations of the status of political science in the ten countries, it will be helpful to compare some statistical data about the population size, per capita GNP, adult literacy rate, and school enrolment ratio at university level in those countries. It is because the development of an academic discipline is largely conditioned by the evolution of the higher educational systems. It appears convenient to group the countries in four sub-regions namely, East Asia (Japan and the Republic of Korea) and Southeast Asia (Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Malaysia) South Asia (Bangladesh and India), the Pacific (Australia and New Zealand). We may pick up a few figures that confirm the wide-ranging differences among these countries. India has the population of 690.2 million while New Zealand has only 3.3 million. Australia's per capita GNP was US$ 10,210 against Bangladesh's $140. Adult literacy rate of Australia, Japan, and New Zealand marks 99 per cent as compared with Bangladesh's 26 per cent. Japan's school enrolment at the tertiary level is ten times higher than that of Bangladesh (see Table 1). Furthermore, cultural, religious, and historical differences among these countries will have to be accounted for as we examine the relationship between science and society.

I. HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

We shall first review the brief histories of political science in these countries: what was the origin and how the discipline evolved and under what kind of conditions? What was the foreign impact and what was the relationship with other

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Table 1. Population, GNP, Literacy Rate and University Enrolment Ratio

Sub-region	*Country*	*Population (Million) 1981*	*Per capita GNP ($) 1981*	*Adult Literacy Rate (%) 1980*	*School Enrolment Ratio (%) University*
East Asia	Japan	117.6	10,080	99	30.2
	Republic of Korea	38.9	1,700	93	17.5
Southeast Asia	Indonesia	149.5	530	62	3.3
	Philippines	49.6	790	75	26.1
	Thailand	48.0	770	86	19.9
	Malaysia	14.2	1,840	60	4.6
South Asia	Bangladesh	90.7	140	26	3.0
	India	690.2	260	36	7.5
Pacific	Australia	7.6	10,210	99	25.8
	New Zealand	3.3	7,700	99	26.2

Sources: *World Development Report*, World Bank, 1983
Statistical Year Book, Unesco, 1983

disciplines? On the whole, political science was introduced to Asia in the 1930s from Europe and North America as part of training of civil servants. As such, the emphasis was placed on the legal and institutional teaching and research. The discipline was expected to serve the management of the government and not to analyze critically the political process and its purpose as contemporary political science tends to stress. It was only after the conclusion of World War II and the attainment of independence that political science became an independent academic discipline and grew rapidly with the expansion of the higher education system in most of the countries surveyed. Political science received British, German, Dutch, and to a less extent, Spanish and Japanese influences in the pre-World War II period largely determined by the colonial masters of the time. The impact of American political science in all countries has been preponderant since the 1950s, particularly in the 1960s and the first half of 1970s when university systems witnessed the major growth in Asian countries.

We shall start our review with the two countries in South Asia, Bangladesh and India. The history of political science in *Bangladesh* dates back to 1938 when a department of political science was established in the University of Dacca under the British colonial rule. This discipline witnessed two major political events which contributed much to its popularity and visibility among the social sciences, namely, the independence in 1947 as part of Pakistan and the birth of Bangladesh in 1971. The emergence of two schools of thought among Bangladesh political scientists could be largely attributed to these political events: One school stressed the practical use of political science to improve the conditions of society and polity, while the other valued more academic pursuit through dispassionate fact-finding and analysis. Although these two schools exist in almost every country, they are more pronounced and apparent in case of Bangladesh. Bangladesh political scientists were trained mostly in the British universities in the 1950s and in the early 1960s. Since then more and more students went to the United States and Canada for doctoral studies, which had brought about a deep and abiding impact on political science in Bangladesh. Behavioural approach, systems analysis, psychological approach, and functional analysis were introduced and integrated with the traditional formal-institutional approaches to the study of politics.

Political science in *India* grew out of courses in philosophy, law, and particularly history under the British colonial educational system. There were five universities in India which had established independent political science departments up to 1938. The departments of political science were established at Saugar University in 1946 and at the Osmania University in 1948, or around the time of independence. A department of Civics and Politics was, however, established at Allahabad University in 1930. Public administration, which traditionally constituted part of political science, has become increasingly an independent discipline with its own institutional identity. The number of university departments of political science in India is expected to be around 75 or 80; thus, two-thirds of the universities conduct teaching in political science at master's level and are, formally speaking, equipped to handle Ph.D. level research supervision.

The Pacific group of countries in the book, Australia and New Zealand, shared the same British political rule and academic influence as did Bangladesh and India. Political science in *Australia* is largely a post-World War II discipline and grew rapidly in the late 50s and 60s. In 30 years between 1950 and 1980, the number of political science academics increased nine times, a much faster growth compared with mathematics, history, and economics. It should be recalled, however, that there was a gradual development of the discipline in the 1920s and 30s. The Australian Institute of Political Science was established in Sydney in 1932 and the department of political science at the University of Adelaide in 1934. Political science is now recognized as a major social science subject in most universities with some 300 teaching staff in Australia. It is "an international discipline with an American bias." It has an emphasis on the empirical and problem-oriented knowledge. Government is seen in instrumental terms and democracy is regarded as the natural order of things. These dispositions affect the political science that is taught and researched in these two countries. As the social sciences grew rapidly in the post-war years, they tended to be more separate and compartmentalized although some efforts were made in the direction of an interdisciplinary orientation in the 1970s. It is interesting to note that there was no behavioural revolution in Australian political science as it took place in the United States. Probably due to a pragmatic approach to intellectual questions, the political scientists were rather "suspicious of large-scale theories, Marxism excepted."

Formal teaching of political science in *New Zealand* started in the 1930s as part of public administration which grew in response to the need for a larger public service. The discipline experienced a rapid growth after the conclusion of World War II in 1945 and the attainment of independence in 1947. The Journal of Political Science was founded in 1948 by the Political Science Society based at the School of Political Science and Public Administration at Victoria University College in Wellington.

East Asia is represented in this volume by Japan and the Republic of Korea. Korea was under Japan's colonial rule for 35 years up to 1945. Both of these countries enjoy at present high adult literacy rates and school enrolment ratios. Political science was imported to, and transplanted in *Japan* during the process of Japan's modernization after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, particularly through the introduction of the Enlightenment ideas of Europe such as those by J. S. Mill and J. J. Rousseau. One was the "State" school which was inspired by German *Staatsrecht* and *Staatslehre* and was taught at national universities; and other was the empirical school which stressed the dynamic political process and legal as well as political ideas, greatly influenced by the modern Anglo-American political science, and was generally taught at some private universities such as Waseda University.

Political science belonged to the Faculty of Literature at the University of Tokyo established in 1887 to train leaders in government and business. The discipline was later integrated in the Faculty of Law and is in the same Faculty at the University of Tokyo to this day. On the other hand, political science at Waseda University found itself, from the very beginning, in the Faculty of Politics and Economics.

Japan's defeat in World War II released intellectual energy which had previously been repressed in all branches of social sciences. Democratization measures taken immediately after the war removed external constraints imposed on political science in the pre-war Japan. The emperor system itself was placed under scientific scrutiny and discussion. Marxism emerged as a dominant social science theory as it offered a best inter-disciplinary and holistic view to analyze the Japanese society than any other theory. Empirical and behavioural research gradually won its way in Japanese political science, coupled with the survey data and technique introduced from the United States. The studies on "mass society" and local politics were stimulated partly by behavioural perspectives as opposed to institutional approach. The behavioural approach did not obtain such a widespread currency as it did in the United States, partly reflecting the university organization in Japan.

It can be said that political science as a systematic scientific exercise in teaching and research started in the *Republic of Korea* after her liberation from the Japanese colonial rule in 1945. The discipline which found its formal establishment in the first department of political science at the Seoul National University in August 1946 was greatly affected by the social and political changes that Korea had to undergo. With the liberation of Korea, several universities came into being as part of the higher education policy where political science began to be taught. Legalistic, historical, and philosophical orientations were dominant in the early period of 1945-1953 largely reflecting the education that Korean scholars had received from the Japanese. The Korea political scientists were very much involved in the ideological controversies as the country was divided into the North and the South. It is noteworthy that the Korean Political Science Association (KPSA) was founded by some 20 leading political scientists in October 1953 despite the extremely difficult situation after the conclusion of the Korean War.

The period between 1954 and 1961 saw an initial growth of political science in the Republic of Korea as manifested in the rapid increase in the numbers of political scientists and departments. The scope of the discipline was extended to cover international relations, international organizations, comparative government, and public administration. During this period, behavioural approach was introduced which gained some ground in the Korean political science.

The following years, from 1962 to 1979, saw even an accelerated growth in the discipline. Against a handful of Ph.D. holders in the Korean political Science Association in 1965, there were 170 in 1975, or 45 per cent of the Association's membership. Of the 170 Ph.D. holders, 101 were awarded the degree by Korean universities, and 50 by the US universities, while the others received the degrees from West German, Australian, Japanese, British, and French universities. The impact of American political science appears significant in the curricula, research priorities, and methodology. Specialization within the discipline proceeded during the period with an increasing interest in problem-oriented research on modernization, national security, the reunification of Korea, and the North-South gap. Interest also grew in international relations, comparative politics, and area studies. Some Korean political scientists became aware in the late 1970s of the need to "Koreanize" political science, which remains an aspiration than a reality even today. The KPSA joined the IPSA in September 1967.

The Southeast Asia group is reprerented in this survey by four countries; Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Malaysia. All of them belong to the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) but had different colonial experiences.

It should be recalled first that there existed no university in *Indonesia* before World War II although five institutions of higher learning were established by the Dutch colonial government. In 1982, there were 30 state universities, three institutions, and ten teachers colleges with the student population of 300,000. In addition, nearly 350,000 students attended some 365 private institutions. The rapid growth of higher education in Indonesia in post-war years is evident. The universities are guided by "Three Duties of Higher Education" namely teaching, research, and social services. Political science is taught at the social science faculties at major universities along with public administration, sociology, social welfare, and mass communication. Seven out of 17 social science faculties offer degrees in political science.

Political science in Indonesia received strong influence of law and public administration. As foreign-educated Indonesians returned, particularly from their studies in the United States, the discipline developed beyond the legal and institutional domains. The American impact was dominant but efforts were made to do research on Indonesian society and on indigenous and traditional thought.

The *Philippine* political science underwent a shift, as their colonial masters changed from Spain to the United States in 1898, from "the philosophical or normative approach to the legalistic-institutional and pragmatic approaches, with a view to developing a science of government." The discipline saw its formal establishment when the Department of Political Science was set up at the University of the Philippines in 1915. The initial "state-focused" political science met an increasing criticism in favour of emphasis on political system and process particularly in the late 1960s and in the 70s. The influence of American-trained political scientists and the behavioural revolution is evident in the critique. The evolution of political science appears to be rather gradual as it took 45 years to produce a first Ph.D. in political science in 1970 since a master's degree was granted as early as 1925.

The institutional establishment of political science in *Thailand* dates back to the 1930s when the University of Moral Science and Politics (Thammasat University) and the Faculty of Political Science and Law came into being at Chulalongkorn University. However, it should be remembered that the term "political science" in Thai was no different from public administration in this period. The teaching was mostly in law and bureaucracy. The new Faculty of Political Science at Chulalongkorn in 1948 was heavily dominated by the concern to train civil servants. The three major core areas of political science teaching today are: government or politics, international relations, and public administration.

Much efforts were made in the 60s and 70s to update the contents of teaching even under the same course offerings, particularly to orient them toward scientific study of political phenomenon. The students are also required to take courses in other social sciences, mathematics and history. However, it is also true that the Thai political scientists in general pay very little attention to the related fields within the same discipline. This is due to the fact that political science remained dominated by public administration, which made a disciplinary identity a difficult one. The discrepancy between the academic substance influenced by American political science and the reality of Thai politics also creates problems in sharpening a distinct theoretical orientation of the discipline. Indeed, only few courses are designed to deal directly with Thai politics and political life. Compounding the problem is the lack of Thai textbooks particularly in political theory.

Political science in *Malaysia* saw its institutional recognition only when the Universiti Sains Malaysia (Science University) and the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (National University) were established in 1969 and 1970 respectively, which accorded the discipline a full-fledged or independent status in university education. A Department of Political Science came into being, however, as late as in 1976 within the Faculty of Social Science and Humanities of the Universiti Kebangsaan. What constitutes political science can be judged from the course offerings. They are: comparative government, public administration, international relations, and area studies. Political science had a strong American influence from its inception in Malaysia.

Although still very much dominated by Western paradigms and perspectives, Malaysian political scientists are increasingly aware of the issues of underdevelopment in the countries of the Third World. The policy-oriented research by the Centre for Policy Research at the Science University established in 1974 is also a response to the need for commitment to a better Malaysian society on the part of political scientists. A social reform movement called "Aliran" is another example in the same direction.

II. TRENDS IN TEACHING AND RESEARCH

We shall now turn to the major current trends in teaching and research in political science against the historical backgrounds and development of the discipline as described in the preceding section. Political science is currently taught in 14 colleges and four universities in ***Bangladesh*** at B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. levels. Special courses are also offered for M.Phil. and Ph.D. studies. When political science courses were given at the University of Dacca in 1938, political thought and principles of political organization and problems of government featured prominently. Such course content underwent "a thorough transformation in the fifties and sixties." The course content was expanded to include: theories of development and social change, government and politics in Bangladesh, research methodology, public administration, political economy, international politics, comparative government. This expansion of coverage in political science courses reflects, on the one hand, the political events of 1947 and 1971 and the impact of American political science on the other. For instance, the study of government and politics in Pakistan was one of the major courses in the 1950s and 1960s. It has been replaced by the study of government and politics in Bangladesh since 1972. The same was true with the study of Islamic thought and institutions and Muslim politics in India which remained as a major area of study after 1947 up to 1972.

Teaching in the universities in Bangladesh is conducted by class lectures and group tutorials. Some 30 to 35 lectures (of 50 minutes' duration) are delivered for every paper or course. Bengali is the medium of instruction, though English is liberally used by the teachers in classes and a few students also write their scripts in English. There exist only a few good books in Bengali, most of which are translations of the classics and standard textbooks. This situation creates a problem both for teachers and students.

In the field of research, the major work of most of the Bangladesh political scientists had been in the form of their Ph.D. dissertations published in English on the subjects of Pakistan and Bangladesh politics and administrative systems. Their interests in these areas of research appear to continue as shown in the works on political development and social change, and bureaucracy and administration. There is a noticeable trend toward interdisciplinary, quantitative, and empirical research.

In *India,* the content of political science teaching consists of four basic areas: (a) political thought or political theory; (b) comparative government; (c) international relations; and (d) public administration. It should be stated, however, that public administration has tended to acquire an independent personality while the subject of international relations has not yet acquired an independent status in all the universities; but students of political science are required to offer a paper in international relations.

Research in India can be grouped under the two headings: "degree research" and "project research." Degree research is conducted as a partial fulfilment of the doctoral programme at universities. According to one survey, 83 Ph.Ds were awarded in 1971 in India in the fields of political science, international relations, and public administration. Project research in political science is undertaken only on a few campuses where such research funded by the University Grants Commission or the Indian Council of Social Science Research is largely institutionalized. Given the first priority to teaching, a heavy workload, project research has to be done in a very limited time available including summer vacation. The research is undertaken on such themes as: Government and politics of India with a great deal of concentration around local government, modern Indian political thought, State politics in India, and political parties and elections.

One important characteristic of the development of political science in India is that it is "not only university-based but is virtually university-bound." It flourishes mainly inside university campus unlike other disciplines of economics, public administration, and geography. It should be pointed out, in this respect, that "a significant proportion of political science students manage to enter the ranks of the civil service as this discipline figures prominently in the scheme of the recruitment-examination conducted by the Union and State Public Service Commissions." This fact partly explains the popularity of political science in Indian universities.

Despite the opportunities given to many Indian political scientists to study in the United States, the authors of the Indian report remark that "American influence in Indian political science declined since the mid-sixties" partly because behavioural and empirical approaches were regarded too foreign and alien to them. It is important to refer to Marxist influence on the political science which encouraged a syncretic approach emphasizing the inter-play of economic and political factors in real life. Reacting to these foreign impacts, some Indian scholars have begun to articulate demands for "indigenization" of political science and its syllabi.

The growth of political science in *Australia* is evidenced in the educational backgrounds of political scientists. In 1957 only nine of the 27 full-time university teachers of political science had doctorates; 20 years later 108 out of 208 had Ph.Ds. According to a study, of the Ph.D. holders in 1978, 36 per cent gained the doctorate in Australia, 39 per cent in the UK, and 31 per cent in the USA. Career prospects for political science graduates are by no means brighter than for those in economics and history as far as the public service is concerned. The popularity and high enrolment in political science is not "vocational possibilities but the intrinsic interest of the subject."

The financing of research is made by several bodies, the most important of which is the Australian Research Grants Committee that disbursed $A 18 million in 1982. A quarter of the fund usually goes to the humanities and social sciences, although political science's share is not great compared with that of history, for instance. Political scientists tend to undertake individualist research rather than team research, which may account at least partly for the relatively small share they receive. Private foundations have not been important sources of finance. Research commissioned by the Royal Commission is affected by the "divisive and partisan nature" of Australian politics and is used often to justify one point of view. Despite the pragmatic orientation of political scientists, this tendency is a constraint for their contribution to solving contemporary problems in Australia.

There are 45 teachers of political science in *New Zealand.* The teaching of political science is not a widespread national phenomenon and restricted to the universities but can be said now "a fully established discipline in its own right." The courses usually consist of political thought, comparative government, public administration, and international politics. There exists a little trend toward cross-disciplinary research and teaching although political sociology and political psychology can be interdisciplinary. Quantitative approach is relatively weak in political science partly due to the strong British influence and partly to the way the appointments are made in New Zealand. The educational backgrounds of political science teachers, as far as their post-graduate qualifications are concerned, 15 have American or British degrees while 13 received their doctorates either from Australian or New Zealand universities. The major employers of political science graduates are the government agencies, media (journalism), and post-primary schools. Only few opportunities exist for political scientists to engage in New Zealand politics.

The research areas include political institutions, party system, foreign relations of New Zealand, and ethnic minorities, or Maoris. Little research is done, however, on decision-making process, political thought, and comparative government. In addition to professional academic writings, New Zealand has a number of outlets for political essays including quarterlies, reviews, and weeklies. The research funds are inadequate despite the recent creation of the Social Sciences Research Fund Committee.

International relations studies constitute an integral part of political science teaching and research in *Japan.* Much work has been done in historical and area studies as well as in theory building. What characterizes contemporary Japanese political science is a keen interest in peace research. Democracy and peace have been two of the core values for a majority of the Japanese people including political scientists in the post-war period. The establishment of the Peace Studies Association of Japan in 1973 was a landmark in this respect. Public administration was accorded the recognition of a full-fledged academic discipline only after the war and is under dominant influence of American public administration. The number of the courses in public administration offered at Japanese universities and, consequently, that of trained researchers on the subject, are rather limited.

A survey shows that there were about 23,000 full-time university teaching staff in human and social sciences, or about 29 per cent of the total teaching population in Japan in 1972. The Japanese Political Science Association, established in 1948 and a member of the International Political Science Association since 1950, had a membership of 710 in 1979. About 160 of them are specialists in political history, another 160 in history of political thought. According to the survey carried out by the authors of the report, the holders of Japanese Ph.D. outnumber those with foreign Ph.D. by a rough ratio of ten to one.

Undergraduate education in Japan consists of two parts: liberal arts education and specialized education. One hundred and thirty-two credits are usually required for the bachelor's degree, of which 44 credits are liberal arts subjects. Courses are normally given in large classes in lecture formats on the basic ideas that constitute the traditional disciplinary thinking and requirements. These courses are supplemented by weekly meetings of small tutorial groups or seminars where students are helped to develop, through discussion and essay writing, a deeper understanding of the selected themes in political science. There exist 19 universities that offer political science courses at graduate level.

A survey conducted by the Ministry of Education of *the Republic of Korea* on the social science curricula showed that the political science courses at major universities consist of the following four major areas: (a) Korean politics; (b) Political theory (including political philosophy and methodology); (c) International relations and (d) Comparative politics.

Currently political science in *Indonesia* comprises three fields of Indonesian politics, international relations, and governmental studies. The doctorate degree is offered at several Indonesian universities in political science, but most of the present teaching staff received their masters and doctorate degrees in the United States or other countries. Indonesian political science teachers seem to work actively on the commissioned research projects by the various government agencies. The Department of Political Science at the University of Indonesia, for instance, conducted 11 researches dealing with various topics ranging from rural society to international politics between 1977 and 1981. Gadjah Mada University did eight research projects in the same period through its departments of Governmental Studies and International Relations. A review of the Sarjana theses (equivalent to M.A.) prepared by the students at the major universities between 1971 and 1981 shows a high concentration on national and local government by those studying outside Jakarta. A second high concentration is on the ASEAN and political system, followed by a third cluster of studies on Indonesian foreign policy. Political theory, on the contrary, has a low priority in research.

In the *Philippines,* the course offerings both at undergraduate and graduate levels in political science at the University of the Philippines System, which is the major educational centre in this discipline in the country, consist of the following: the Philippine Government, political dynamics, comparative government, international relations, and political theory and methodology. The other universities and colleges seem to have adopted similar courses modelled after the University of the Philippines. In terms of research trends, there exists a net increase in research works on international relations and on local government. Studies have been made also on political instability and ideologies. More work is done recently on political philosophy and political thought which were prominent in 1915-1945 and were virtually absent in 1946-1965.

One of the problems faced by Philippine political science is concerned with the small group of doctoral degree holders (about 13 per cent) as opposed to large groups of master of arts degree holders (39 per cent) and those who have only bachelor's degrees (48 per cent). This composition of teaching staff and their educational qualifications raises a serious problem in providing excellent training in political science. In the Philippines, there exist only three universities that offer courses leading to the doctorate degree in political science and/or public administration as late as 1976. The less-qualified instructors are burdened to teach introductory courses and are paid low salaries.

The educational backgrounds of 222 political science teachers in *Thailand* reveal a strong American training. Indeed, more than one-half of them received their masters or doctorates from American universities. Sixteen received their degrees from France, eight from the UK, to be followed by those trained in the Philippines and Australia. Only 57 teachers, or 26 per cent, received their bachelor's degrees and masters. There is no holder of Thai Ph.D in political science.

The research areas reflect the disciplinary trend. The distribution of M.A. theses of the Faculty of Political Science at Thammasat University (1953-1973) is as under: 66 per cent in public administration, 27 per cent in international law and relations, and 7 per cent in politics. Practically, all research which was funded by the National Research Council of Thailand, totaling 58 projects between 1960-1972, falls in the field of public administration. The situation is, however, improving since 1973 as more political scientists began to feel less inhibited to study political issues and processes in Thailand. Another survey by the National Research Council on research between 1969 and 1979 identified 442 research works. Of these, 176 or 40 per cent are in "political science" and 266, or 60 per cent, in "public administration." On the whole, it is reported that "researches in Thailand have been dominated by traditional approaches, historical or structural, and the analyses are mainly descriptive and qualitative."

In teaching, the *Malaysian* universities face a rapidly increasing student population, which appears to decrease student receptivity and pose a problem of bureaucratization of teaching. As of 1984, the government policy requires that all courses at undergraduate level be taught in the national language *Bahasa Malaysia*. This gives rise to the problem of textbooks which are not available in the national language. There are signs that the students are shifting from political science to more marketable management and economics.

Research in political science remains on a low key due to the isolatedness of the profession and to the lack of funding. A general feeling of demotivation and apathy among political scientists is not conducive to the development of dynamic research activity. The so-called "sensitive issues" discourage research on the one hand and the paucity of specialized academic journal outlets is inhibitive particularly to the young scholars.

III. PROFESSIONAL ISSUES

In this section we shall attempt to describe and analyze the problems of the political science profession as identified by the authors of the country reports. Although political science in *Bangladesh* has become one of the well-established and reputed academic disciplines, the country report concludes that "political science has not been adequately professionalized; even its possibility in the near future seems to be remote." The reasons provided by the author to explain the situation ranges from the ambivalent nature of the discipline itself which has not attained "the level of methodological rigour and sophistication" to the shortcoming of their group activities especially in the context of societal needs, including a relatively weak Bangladesh Political Science Association. In the absence of research institutions in Bangladesh which call for the massive expertise of political science, this academic discipline has thus remained basically "a teaching profession." We may note here that there are at present in Bangladesh 70 political scientists who are engaged in teaching in four universities. The job openings for political science graduates are quite limited; besides teaching positions in colleges and universities, they might obtain jobs in the private business or "odd jobs in government offices," while a handful of whom prepare for the competitive examinations which are not regularly held in Bangladesh.

It is stressed that both teaching and research in political science need to be revitalized by improved course content and problem-oriented research into different aspects of Bangladesh society and polity. It is proposed that the university departments be reformed to restructure the basic teaching methods of class lectures and group tutorials. There are other issues to be tackled such as the shortage of textbooks in Bengali and of research funds provided by the University Grants Commission or by the Social Science Research Council. The political scientists are expected to play a role in "illuminating and formulating policies towards the resolution of major national and international problems their society is confronted with." It is particularly relevant in Bangladesh which is still a "largely unexplored society" and where information and analysis of the country are much needed in adequate policy making.

"Political scientists in *India* are neither organized as a class of professionals nor do they play a prominent role in national policy debates as experts in political analysis." As pointed out earlier, the lack of rigourous research activity partly explains this low degree of professionalization of political science in India. Political science in India faces a "low social valuation," making it difficult for the political science degree holders to compete in job market but many of them enter as teachers at primary and secondary schools. At the national level, however, there exists the Indian Political Science Association which publishes a quarterly *Indian Journal of Political Science.* Several university journals are more prominent and may have eclipsed the official organ of the Association. As agenda for action, the authors of the report stress the following priority issues: to preserve the heritage of keeping coming generations of students informed about all the shades of possible political ideologies; to make available a greater resource-base for research; to develop extension networks so that the common man may come to have better political education.

In *Australia,* the Australasian Political Studies Association was founded in 1952 and is a member of the IPSA since 1961. The Association, whose current membership counts 500, publishes newsletters and directories, and convenes annual conferences. There exist other three associations that deserve notice in this connection.

They are: the Australian Institute of Political Science which publishes *The Australian Quarterly;* the Australian Institute of International Affairs with its journal *Australian Outlook;* and the Australian Institute of Public Administration which enjoys a large membership of more than 3,500.

Political science in Australia faces the professional and intellectual challenges. The discipline will have to be further accepted and taught at many colleges of advanced education. It will have to cope with the limited number of teaching posts at the universities and the shortage of research funds. After the period of expansion, it is likely that in the 1980s "a sorting-out process" will take place to determine the "core elements" of the discipline. The question of relevance will inevitably arise as policy studies are likely to become more prominent both in teaching and research. The discipline must employ more mathematics and fill in the existing gap between theory and empirical research.

The *New Zealand* Political Science Association was established in 1974 and is an associate member of IPSA since 1981. Its membership counts over 300 as it is not restricted to professional political scientists. The author of the report does not see a bright future for the discipline in the context of economic difficulties. He considers, however, that the challenge to political science may provide an occasion to rationalize the teaching offerings and to redefine emphases. A forced introversion of interest may help develop research into the affairs of New Zealand and on hitherto neglected areas of research.

Social Sciences Policy: Japan published by the OECD in 1977 pointed out, as one of its major criticisms, that the social sciences in *Japan* were detached from the reality and were too abstract to be useful for decision-makers. The other criticisms were concerned with the weak empirical and behavioural research, and the lack of unified curriculum and content of graduate education as well as of the deficient library and other data advice facilities. The authors of the Japanese report, while agreeing to most of those points, argue that the OECD report underestimates the importance of the role of pure research as opposed to policy-relevant research. They stress that political science has developed as a critical science and that its primary purpose is not, and should not be, to render pragmatic service to decision-makers.

The sudden explosion of new universities in the early 1960s gave rise to the shortage of equipment and especially of teaching staff in *Indonesia.* To compound the problem, many university teachers find it necessary to supplement their salaries by outside teaching and consultancy, which affect the quality of teaching. *Bahasa Indonesia* is the official medium of instruction at all levels of education in the country. The lack of textbooks available in the Indonesian language poses a serious problem, although there are signs for improvement as more social science periodicals have begun to appear in the Indonesian language. There exists no association of political scientists in Indonesia.

Political science in Indonesia may not figure too badly compared with other sciences, but its teaching is restricted to seven universities without much hope for further expansion at the moment. What is urgently needed is to upgrade the qualifications of teaching staff by awarding scholarships both at Indonesian universities and at foreign universities. The young political scientists will have to be also trained in English to pursue studies abroad and manage in international co-operation.

The nation-wide co-operation among political scientists took a long time, reflecting a relatively weak professionalism in *the Philippines*. The Philippine Political Science Association was established in 1962 and joined IPSA only in 1972. The funding for research poses a question not only in terms of the volume of research but also of the relationships of the discipline with the funding agencies. Another issue is related to the role of political scientists in political affairs, particularly in the government. The first thing to be done for the development of political science in the Philippines is the training of a large number of professionals. The same applies to other social sciences as advocated by the Philippine Social Science Council. Much is also needed in the area of research. Although it has become more comprehensive and systematic, the volume of quality research and its output is relatively low particularly in comparative government, political theory, and methodology. The funding needs to be augmented to support such research as well as to promote international collaborative research.

The authors of the report on *Thailand* state that "there is the general lack of sense of professionalism among Thai political scientists." This can be partly attributed to "low salary but permanent job" mentality. The Political Science Association of Thailand is not a serious academic body, and is not a member of IPSA. The absence of national level co-operation among political scientists is compensated to some extent by the Social Science Association of Thailand founded in 1957. One of the challenges for Thai political scientists is concerned with academic freedom. The university teachers are civil servants and as such they are to be governed by certain government regulations and rules. There exists in Thailand a few subjects which have been traditionally considered "taboo" or too controversial such as the Buddhist institutions and the monarchy. The critical years of 1973-1976 have left a great impact on the thinking of those engaged in political science. The Thai society is more politicized but still keeps its own taboo.

Political science in *Malaysia* is not yet a full-fledged profession in terms of autonomy and public accountability. There exists no political science association in Malaysia. There are only two university departments of political science with the total staff of about 50. The role of political science is restricted to "technocratic" aspects of government and development administration at best and remains marginal in international security and foreign policy.

To sum up, Table 2 gives certain indications concerning the degree of professionalization of political science including: (a) the year of the establishment of the first department of political science; (b) doctoral degree offered; (c) existence of national political science association; (d) affiliation with the International Political Science Association; (e) number of members; and (f) existence of national social science council or association.

Table 2. Professionalization of Political Science

	Yr. of Establishment of First Political Science Department	*Doctorate Degree Offered in Political Science*	*National Association (Yr. of Establishment)*	*Affiliation with IPSA*	*Number of Members*	*National Social Science Council of Association*
Japan	(1880's)	Yes	Japanese Political Science Association (1948)	1950	930	Science Council of Japan
Korea, Republic of	1946	Yes	Korean Political Science Association (1953)	1967	683	Korean Social Science Research Council
Indonesia	–	Yes	–	–	–	Indonesian Institute of Sciences
Philippines	1915	Yes	Political Science Association of Philippines (1962)	1972	172	Philippine Social Science Council
Thailand	1933	No*	Thai Political Science Association	No	NA	National Research Council of Thailand
Malaysia	1976	No*	–	–	–	Social Science Association of Malaysia
Bangladesh	1938	No	Bangladesh Political Science Association	No	NA	Bangladesh Social Science Research Council
India	1938	Yes	Indian Political Science Association	1949	1,898	Indian Council of Social Science Research
Australia	1934	Yes	Australian Political Science Association (1952)	1961	400	Social Science Academy of Australia
New Zealand	1946	Yes	New Zealand Political Science Association (1974)	1981 (Associate Member)	300	Social Science Research Fund Committee

Sources: State-of-the-art reports
IPSA documentation and other information collected by the author

* Ph.D. in Public Administration offered with much political science focus

IV. AN "ASIAN" PATTERN?

The brief review of the history, teaching and research trends, and professional problems of political science in the ten countries has revealed certain similarities and variations within the discipline and its relationships with the larger educational systems and societies. The divergent and complex issues that confront political science as an academic discipline appear to defy an attempt to draw a clear picture of the discipline in Asia. The evolution of political science is a dynamic process, and issues may constantly change as time goes by, making it difficult and less meaningful to try to arrive at an "Asian pattern" of political science. Furthermore, it would be necessary to look into and compare other patterns of political science in different world regions to define Asian characteristics of political science. In spite of these limitations and difficulties, it seems helpful to identify the main elements that constitute an Asian pattern, particularly a desirable pattern as perceived by the Asian political scientists.

A. Objective

One such element is concerned with the objective of the discipline itself. We have seen that political science was introduced in the Asian countries primarily to train the government officials and was synonymous with public administration as was exemplified by the Thai case. The American impact on political science was largely responsible for the broadening of the scope of the discipline to include the investigation into political process and the interactions among different political actors. Introduced into different political systems in Asia, the American influence helped political science in Asia to critically examine the power relations and to demystify the established political ideas and institutions. In short, it has become a critical science. There exists a tense relationship between the technocratic and critical aspects in all social sciences. Political science may be the discipline that stands on a most delicate and fragile balance between the two aspects because it addresses itself to the question of power most directly than any other discipline. The political situations prevalent in several countries in Asia further complicate the objective of the discipline. The existence of "sensitive issues" in Malaysia and the historical experience of the military government in Thailand are but two cases where authors of the reports expressed their concerns in pursuing their academic goals.

It is not, however, a choice between the two functions. The majority of authors seems to favour a more active participation in, and contribution of political science to, policy making, mostly at the national level. The policy-relevant political science might be considered a synthesis of technocratic expertise and critical analysis in its best. The emphasis on policy relevance can be partly explained by the fact that the social scientists in the Third World in general regarded, and still regard, that it was their mission to build up and develop their young nations. There was a widespread expectation that the social sciences could play significant roles in national development in the 1960s and 1970s in particular. As nation-building involves social transformation, the role of political science can not simply be technocratic in managing the function of the State.

In this respect, it is noteworthy that the Japanese and Australian political scientists tend to take a more detached view concerning the purpose of their profession with regard to policy making. The authors of the Japanese report state that "the primary purpose of political science is not, and should not be, to render pragmatic service to decision-makers." They continue that "granted that results of research may be utilized by decision-makers, it is merely coincidental, and not intentional." The Australian report describes that "there has not been a strong tradition of activism or commitment on social policies by Australian political scientists" and comments that this "'professional detachment' is not peculiar to political scientists, but it is perhaps somewhat more marked among them than among, say, economists or sociologists in their spheres of public life."

Indonesia appears to present a very different picture. The university professors of political science are engaged actively in research sponsored by the various government agencies including the National Development Planning Agency, Department of Interior, Department of Education and Culture, Department of Defense and Security, and Department of Foreign Affairs. In Thailand, research funds used to be available almost exclusively for research in public administration till the end of the 1960s through the National Research Council. The situation greatly improved in the 1970s for research on political science proper. This change might be an indication of the broader scope and objective of political science as accepted by the Thai academic community.

A consensus does exist, however, that political scientists' first obligation is scientific education and research in its own right and that unless they succeed in this endeavour, their service to policy making and society will be severely restricted. The relationship of political science and society is not only conditioned by the kind of political system that the political scientists find themselves at a given time but also is a function of the development of the discipline itself. The Asian social scientists should be able to set a common objective of developing and refining the concepts, theories, and methods of political science which are more reflective of, and responsive to, the Asian scene and needs.

B. Scope

There exists a fair amount of agreement as to the content and scope of political science in the countries in Asia. The original emphasis on public administration and the consequent American influence on Asian political science have probably provided a common general framework for the content of the discipline. The following four areas can be said to constitute political science as taught and researched in the universities and research institutes in the countries in the region:

(a) political theory and thought;
(b) comparative government;
(c) public administration; and
(d) international relations.

Political science appears on the surface as an interdisciplinary area of teaching as, for instance, international relations study requires knowledge about history, economics, and law, to say nothing of comparative government. In most countries, however, the synthetic understanding and linking the areas are left to the students to tackle while professors tend to specialize in one of these areas. The emergence of political sociology and social psychology has not improved the situation as little systematic endeavour has taken place towards interdisciplinarity. There is a need to go beyond the building-up of a model curriculum as is reported by the Korean author to place political science properly in relation to other social sciences.

Political theory and thought can be safely identified as the area which calls for the greatest attention and work of political scientists in Asia and the Pacific. Political thought courses are usually devoted to the classical Western political thinkers from Plato to Rousseau, although some attempts have been made to introduce the ideas of political philosophers in the respective countries in the region. In Indonesia, there was a conscious effort to introduce Indonesian political thought from the very beginning. "Modern Indonesian Political Thought is a required course of all political science cirricula" and Islamic Political Thought is also offered. The efforts in introducing major political thinkers of the countries are also undertaken in several other countries including Bangladesh, India, and the Philippines. It would appear that more Asian political philosophers could be taught as the relevant teaching materials become readily available. This presupposes a greater research in this area by Asian political scientists.

Political theory, including methodology, is probably the least-developed area in political science in Asia, and for that matter in political science as we know it today. Courses offered in political theory and methodology introduce the works of Western theoreticians but do not seem to attract many students. Empirical research and quantitative approach have never become as popular as in the United States despite the strong American influence on Asian political science. In India, for example, it was the Indian Council of Social Science Research and the University Grants Commission rather than the university departments that took the initiative to train the young teachers and students in research methodology, while "most of the older political science teachers find the modern quantitative research methods rather distasteful and look askance at the empiricist presumption. . . ."

Skepticism and reservation about quantitative methods may have good reasons in the Asian context. Certain research techniques such as questionnaires and interviews are more relevant in a culture which values self-expression. At the same time, some concepts and theories employed by Asian political scientists might not be found useful in the analysis of political phenomena in Asian countries. Under such a circumstance, any attempt to employ a particular method, in separation from the theory, may be meaningless. The challenge for Asian political scientists will be then to develop endogenous concepts and theories and devise the methods appropriate to them. The existing "gap between theory and empirical research" as pointed out in the Australian report will have to be bridged first in this endeavour.

C. Regional Co-operation and Perspectives

Most of the authors referred to the desirability of developing regional co-operation among Asian political scientists. There exists already the basic national level infrastructure of political science which should enable collaboration at a regional level as Table 2 indicates. In all countries surveyed, there are national social science councils or associations, and political science associations exist except in Indonesia and Malaysia. Six Asian political science associations are either full or associate members of IPSA. Furthermore, Asian political scientists have already been actively participating in regional collaborative research sponsored by Unesco, the United Nations University, and by the regional associations such as the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC) and the Association of Development Research and Training Institutes of Asia and the Pacific (ADIPA).

Regional co-operation is, of course, part of international scholarly co-operation. Efforts to "indigenize" social sciences could be encouraged by regional collaboration by broadening the communication flows among political scientists in Asia whose main counterparts are still found in North America and Europe rather than in the neighbouring countries. The call for indigenization has passed through the stage of reaction to the Western social sciences and it now constitutes part of the globalization process of the social sciences. Regional co-operation is a means and not an end itself. Co-operation will be meaningful to the extent that a common objective is shared by those involved. It will be necessary to identify specific tasks and to develop the mechanism to that end. The first congress of the Asian-Pacific Political Science Association (Pattaya, Thailand, 28-30 July 1984) appears to present an excellent opportunity for this purpose. The Unesco's country surveys on political science in Asia and the Pacific will serve as a set of basic documents for regional co-operation.

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TWO

JAPAN: *Sakio Takayanagi*
Tamotsu Shioya

I. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE DISCIPLINE

1. Pre-war development

There is a general consensus that the history of political science in Japan as an academic discipline traces its origin back to the Meiji period. The Japanese people made efforts to absorb "western learning" after the Meiji Resteration, including political science.

Modern political science is a branch of empirical social sciences which are concerned with studying social pehnomena scientifically. The existence of modern political consciousness is a prerequisite for the development of political science. In Japan, modern political consciousness came into being only during the modernization process since the Meiji Restoration of 1868. The concept of political consciousness itself was alien to the Japanese which was introduced through Chinese studies, and Dutch and other European studies. One may call it an imported and translated concept. Consequently, it was inevitable that the concept was only superficially understood, which affected in important ways the later development of Japanese political science.[1]

A. Enlightenment ideas

In the early years of the Meiji period the ideas of Enlightenment played an important role by providing a theoretical basis for emerging modern political consciousness, and thus making significant contributions to the development of political science in Japan.

A large number of western books on political ideas such as those by J.S. Mills and J.J. Rousseau were translated into Japanese during this period. Other political thinkers whose ideas were introduced to Japan include A. Tocqueville, H. Spencer, T. Hobbs, N. Machiavellie, and Col. Montesquieu.[2]

There existed two schools of the Enlightenment in Japan at that time. One was the school of interpretative Enlightenment whose task was to interpret and make comments on alien ideas for general public to understand. The other was the school of critical Enlightenment. It was critical of official interpretations of the Enlightenment ideas which were often superficial and arbitrary. Those who belonged to this school felt the need to educate the general public to enable them to attain the level of political sophistication necessary for discussion of political ideas and for critical judgment. H. Kato[3] belonged to the former school and E. Ueki[4] to the latter.

We must mention Y. Fukuzawa[5] and H. Ono[6] in this connection who were precursors of empirical political science in Japan.

B. The 'state' school and the empirical school

The interpretative school and the critical school of the Enlightenment eventually developed respectively into the 'state' school and the empirical school of political science which came to dominate political science in the late 19th century and the early 20th century in this country.

The 'state' school was inspired by German *'staatsrecht'* and *'staaatslehre'*. Political science taught at national universities such as the University of Tokyo was dominated by the 'state' school. Within this school K. Onozuka[7] and S. Yoshino[8] made important contributions to the discipline.

The empirical school was mainly interested in empirical studies of dynamic political process as well as the studies of legal and political ideas. Anglo-American modern political science influenced many of the scholars of this school. This school dominated some private universities such as Waseda University; it also influenced Japanese journalism. M. Hasegawa,[9] K. Sugimori[10] and K. Ohyama[11] contributed a great deal to promote this school.

C. Institutional genesis of political science in Japan

The University of Tokyo, which has been principal training ground for many of Japan's leaders, in government and in business, was established in 1887. At that time the university consisted of four faculties. The faculty of Law was comprised of a single department. Political science was a part of the faculty of Literature. This organization already reflected relative weight attached to political science as compared with jurisprudence in Japan. Later, political science was integrated into the faculty of Law. Political science has never enjoyed to this day an independent faculty status within the university organization in Japan.

In 1879, an American political scientist named A.F. Fenollosa came to Japan to give lectures on political science and public finance at the University of Tokyo. In 1883, S. Hara, a public official of the Ministry of Justice, taught political science there. The subject was taught from 1884 to 1892 by K. Rathgen, German political scientist.[12] Until K. Onozuka became full professor of political science, the subject had been taught either by foreign scholars or part-time Japanese lecturers. Partly reflecting government policy, German political science was encouraged at Tokyo university and other state schools. Consequently, political science was equated to *'staatslehre'*[13] or the study of state, primary functions of which were to assist government bureaucrats in their legislative and administrative management of the state.

Already in the 1880s many professional schools specializing in economics, law and political science were established, and some of the leading private universities of today trace their origins to these professional schools. Waseda University is one of them. At Waseda University, unlike at the University of Tokyo, political science was made independent of jurisprudence from the very beginning. Political science was organized, instead, under the faculty of Politics and Economics. S. Ohkuma, the founder of the University, was a strong proponent for adopting in Japan the constitutional democracy of English style. S. Ono, who helped Ohkuma establish the institution, had studied in England, specializing in J. Bentham and J.J. Mills. S. Takada, who taught political science at the University and later became dean of the faculty, was well versed in English history, especially her constitutional history. Political science taught at Waseda was predominantly Anglo-American.

D. New schools

Following the First World War Japanese political scientists went to Germany to study. That was the time when the Weimar Constitution was promulgated; the neo-Kantian school dominated the German academic scene. Because of the prevailing academic climate at Japanese universities, especially state ones, neo-Kantian school was welcomed, and the introduction of this school to Japan was felt to contribute to the updating of traditional Japanese political science and make it more responsive to the democratic trend developing in the society at large. Many of the books written in Japan between 1922 and 1925 were on methodological problems.[14]

At about the same time, a new political trend was developing in England which had long been regarded as the mother country of modern political science. The British scholars developed the pluralistic theory of state, as a response to the changing international as well as domestic environment following the War. This school, instead of explaining political phenomena in terms of the concept of state, tried to explain the state in terms of the concept of politics, considering the state as a constituent part of society. The pluralistic theory provided a theoretical basis to the social demands made by newly-emerged social groups which had been brought about by some basic changes within the society. This political idea, when introduced to Japan, influenced Japanese political science no less than the neo-Kantian school.[15]

The new methodologies and perspectives provided by the neo-Kantian school and the pluralistic school ensued polemics over the concepts of politics and the state. Debates on methodological issues between those who supported the new trends and those who adhered to the more traditional approaches[16] also became quite intense.

E. Challenges from new ideologies

During the period following First World War new social groups emerged, and new ideas were introduced from abroad, stimulating efforts for a new orientation of political science. The old basis of society remained, however, largely unchanged, and objective conditions were absent for a healthy development of the discipline. Under such circumstances, Japanese political science which was still in its early stage of development was challenged by ideologies of crisis from both right and left. These ideologies were those of communism and Fascism. The former challenged the basic premises of capitalism and the latter challenged those of liberalism and constitutional parliamentarism.

These ideologies helped point out the theoretical deficiencies inherent in Japanese political science. Japanese modern political science, consciously or unconsciously, had long ignored the issues of "class" and "nation". Modern political science in the West had developed political theory of nation-state based on the bourgeois society, and consequently it had from the beginning taken up the issues of "nation" and "class", and dealt with them accordingly, though the way the issues were dealt with was basically different both from that of Marxism and Fascism. Japanese political science, when challenged by the new ideologies, found itself totally unprepared.

F. Japanese Fascism

Following the First World War, Fascism and Marxism gained momentum as social and political power in Europe. Under similar circumstances Fascism came into force in Japan around 1920.

Japanese Fascism, unlike Marxism, was not based on a coherent system of thought, and its genesis was not unitary. One could trace the origin of Japanese Fascism to at least three sources. First, it is ultranationalism based on the concept of family state, and was a Japanese expression of national socialism. Second, it is anti-bureaucratic localism, a concept based on autonomous agriculturalism. Third, it is agriculturalism which was anti-bureaucratic, anti-urban, and anti-industrial, and was based on the concept of national community headed by the Emperor.

Noteworthy efforts within this field were made by H. Fujisawa[17] who tried to establish-indigenous Japanese political science, drawing on national mythology. S. Ikeda's[18] contribution should also be mentioned in this connection. Excellent analysis from psychological perspective of Japanese Fascism can be found in M. Maruyama's "The Psychologies of Ultranationalism".[19]

G. Marxism in the pre-war Japan

From the perspective of political science, Marxism raised three important issues: "historical materialism", "theory of class and class struggle", and "strategy and tactics of revolution".

It was in 1905 that historical materialism was first studied academically.[20] K. Fukumoto[21] and Y. Ohmori,[22] both early proponents of historical materialism, tried to shed light on the nature of the relationship between the theory of historical materialism and social sciences as academic disciplines, and contended that the theory of historical materialism constituted what one might call the infrastructure of social sciences, and individual social science could remain a discipline only when it was firmly based on historical materialism. This obviously had a serious implication for social sciences. Social sciences thus defined were not left with any room to function as autonomous disciplines. This issue was repeatedly discussed among political scientists.

In 1936 T. Fukuda wrote "On Lenin's Theory of State", in which he criticized the views expressed by Lenin in "State and Revolution" by meticulously comparing them with those contained in various works by Marx and Engels.

Marxist concept of "strategy and tactics of revolution" was also discussed within the Marxist camp, and the central issue there was the problem of democratic revolution. The polemics engaged by Marxists on the issue stimulated various studies and surveys of capitalist societies, making important contribution to Japanese social sciences. The detailed account of the controversies engaged between 1922 and 1932 can be found in "The History of Polemics on Democratic Revolution in Japan".[23]

H. Evaluation of pre-war political science

M. Maruyama wrote "Politics as Science"[24] in 1953, in which he analyzed the pre-war political science and tried to identify factors contributing to the backwardness of political science in the pre-war Japan, and showed the direction in which the post-war political science should develop.

According to Maruyama, Japanese political science had never developed in close contact with political reality, and there existed a hopeless chasm separating the discipline and the object it was supposed to study. Political scientists were not alone to blame for this state of affairs, however. More fundamentally, it was attributable to the political structure which had defined the nature and the scope of the discipline. Generally speaking, in a society which does not enjoy civil liberty there is little room for social sciences to develop. This is particularly true with political science. In the post-war Japan the state structure underwent a fundamental change. Thus, objective conditions for the development of political science have been realized. What is required now of Japanese political science is to be a practical science. This does not, however, mean that political scientists should turn themselves into ideologues for a certain political group in political power struggle. Political scientists must, above all, be guided by their faith in objectivity, coping with the problem of what K. Mannheim called *seinsgebundenheit*. There is no other way for Japanese political science to grow out of its backwardness.[25]

The 1950 issue of the *Annals of the Japanese Political Science Association* contains an interesting discussion over this issue by M. Royama, T. Hori, Y. Oda, T. Nakamura and M. Maruyama.[26]

2. The post-war political science

Japan's defeat in the Second World War relieved energy previously repressed, resulting in development in every branch of the social sciences. This was particularly true with political science. As explained above, opinions vary today over the evaluation of pre-war political science, but there is no one who would disagree with the contention that objective conditions for the development of the discipline were first realized after the war. Democratization measures taken immediately after the war such as the directive concerning the freedom to criticize the "emperor system", and the abolition of the public orders maintenance law contributed to removing external constraints imposed on political science in the pre-war time. In addition to this, and what was probably more important, was the lifting of internal, psychological restraints political scientists imposed on themselves previously. Under drastically changed circumstances political scientists came to focus their academic interest on probing and explaining why it was that only after the total devastation of the country, and under extreme external pressures, the traditional political system in Japan collapsed.

During the war no effective criticism was voiced by Japanese political scientists against the system. Consequently, after the war when political scientists attempted to criticize the "emperor system", and the ideologies of Fascism, it inevitably took the form of criticism of the system of which they themselves had been a part. In other words, it was a kind of criticism involving self-criticism on the part of political scientists.

A. Marxism

The fact that Marxism was the only system of thought that had confronted the "emperor system" and critically analyzed the total structure of the system ever since the early Showa period throughout the war years gave the post-war Japanese social sciences a special character.

Marxism emerged after the war as the dominant theory of social sciences, and the central issue then confronting social sciences was the relationship between various social sciences and the Marxist system of thought. The question of whether political science could function as an autonomous discipline under Marxism became more pressing than ever before.

The *History of Development of Japanese Capitalism* was already written before the war, which made a critical analysis of the "emperor system" and Fascism. The book criticized the rule by the priviledged class and the economic basis of the "emperor system". As a result, it tended to underestimate the emotional aspects (the emotional attachment the Japanese people felt toward the "emperor system") which constituted important supportive elements for the system.

When the new constitution was promulgated, decisive blows hit the system. The economic basis of the emperor system was also drastically transformed through policies of democratization of economic life.

Under these circumstances, Marxists concentrated their efforts on pointing out the hypocritical nature of the post-war reforms, and held that the "emperor system" remained basically unchanged after the war.

The role Marxism played in the development of the post-war political science is too important to be ignored. In the post-war Japan it was, however, studies of Japanese Fascism and studies of the post-war politics based on empirical analysis of political attitudes that gave the post-war political science its own *raison-d'être.*

B. Studies of Japanese fascism

The analyses of Japanese Fascism – its psychological structure – emphasized a continuity between the pre-war Japan and the post-war Japan, claiming that the collapse of the old political structure had not in itself brought about a collapse of the psychological structure that had supported the former. It was pointed out that it was not sufficient to criticize Japanese Fascism from without; it should be criticized from within, that is, the psychological structure of the Japanese people themselves who, consciously or unconsciously, supported the system must be affected. This problem-consciousness led to the post-war realization that parliamentary democracy and other democratic institutions introduced after the war could function only if each and every Japanese made a conscious effort to transform the psychological structure which characterized Japanese Fascism.

M. Maruyama was most productive in this field, publishing successively a large number of works on Japanese Fascism.[27] Joint researches on Japanese Fascism were also undertaken.[28]

A series of studies on Japanese Fascism aroused interest in critical analysis of the Japanese modernization process since the Meiji Restoration, of which, it was thought, Japanese Fascism was a product. This line of inquiry produced a good number of works.[29]

Interest in Japanese Fascism also led to studies based on political cultural approach, in which efforts were made to identify political principles characterizing Japanese politics that operates within the larger context of the Japanese culture.[30]

C. Empirical (behavioural) research

After the war it became possible to subject political reality to academic research resulting in empirical studies of the post-war politics. The first general elections under the new constitution were held in 1949, and survey reports of the election results were published.[31] These pioneer works provided useful data for subsequent political research in Japan.

At about the same time survey data and techniques developed in the U.S.A. began to be introduced to Japan, stimulating Japanese political science.[32], [33] This was true especially in the area of political behaviour analysis. Surveys of public opinion, voting behaviour patterns, political parties, pressure groups and political leadership became popular academic concerns for many political scientists.[34] Various research efforts made along this line culminated in the 1953 issue of the *Annals of Japan Political Science Association.*[35]

D. "Mass society" approach

In the post-war Japan classification of the various sectors of the society in terms of a dichotomy of "modern" and "traditional" (or "Japanese") was quite common. This perspective was derived from a critical attitude on the part of political scientists toward the old "emperor system." They felt it important to identify and analyze factors which, behind the façade of democratization of the society, hindered modernization and rationalization of Japanese political process as well as political consciousness.

This problem consciousness entertained by political scientists during the period immediately after the war was, however, gradually transformed. This became apparent, especially after the conclusion of the peace treaty in 1951.

The Japanese society was not reorganized along the line of a revival of the old system characterized by the emperor and militarism as feared by some segments of the Japanese. The emperor system ceased to be the ruling political apparatus and lost most of its social significance as well. The old consciousness was, thus, fragmented and transformed. Under the then prevailing circumstances it became increasingly difficult to analyze the reorganized system, using the conceptualization of the society based on a dichotomy of "modern" and "traditional".

This new situation was aptly analyzed by K. Matusshita. According to him, the pre-war Japan could clearly be divided into urban and rural areas. But in the post-war Japan, because of democratization and industralization, the dual situation ("mass situation" and "village situation") came to permeate urban as well as rural areas.[36] This new situation called for a new approach. He proposed a "mass society" approach.

K. Matsushita's contribution in this field is most important. The 1975 issue of the *Annals* of the Japanese Political Science Association was devoted to "State System and Class Consciousness – Theoretical Response to 'Mass Society' ".[37]

In 1956, the Japan Political Science Association held two symposia on the problems raised by the emergence of mass society in Japan. At the spring session, a symposium was held under the title of "Political Theories in Mass Democracy", and at the autumn session the participants discussed "Mass Democracy and Parliament" and "Mass in Contemporary Politics". The 1953 issue of the *Annals* was revised in 1958, incorprating more systematically the "mass society" approach.[38]

E. Studies of local politics

Another important line of inquiry focussed on local politics. One finds two different approaches to the research on local politics.

The first approach focussed on the question of political participation and democracy in local politics. K. Matsushita interpreted the development of the post-war politics as characterized by the emergence of a mass society which had been brought about by industrialization and urbanization of the society. He examined ways to realize and protect civil liberties in such a social environment, and made a series of proposals about regional democracy, local political reforms, and political participation by citizens.[39]

It was with the same problem-consciousness that the 1974 issue of the *Annals* of the Japanese Political Science Association was devoted to "Political participation: Theories and Practice".[40]

The second approach to the study of local politics is based on empirical analyses of regional societies, using survey techniques.[41]

Studies of local politics have proved to be one of the most productive areas of political inquiry. It is largely due to the fact that the research on local politics has been policy-oriented and interdisciplinary in nature, and the problems it has dealt with are practical, relevant, and deeply rooted in the reality of local communities.

F. Elements of behaviouristic, comparative and inter-disciplinary approach in political science in Japan

Systems theory and theory of comparative politics were successively introduced to stimulate Japanese political science. However, partly reflecting the university organization in Japan and the attitudes and procedures it engendered, behaviouristic approach and interdisciplinary approach have not gained as wide-spread a currency as might have been expected, and research activities along these lines have not been carried out as systematically as in the U.S.A.[42]

G. International politics

The study of international politics will be surveyed here in three parts: a) historical studies, b) areas studies, and c) theoretical studies.

a) *Historical Studies*

The level of academic research in this field was already high in the pre-war time by international standard, as evidenced by such excellent works as S. Nobuo's study of the Sino-Japanese war from the perspective of dual diplomacy by the military and the government,[43] and K. Taho's study of Japanese Korean relations in the modern time,[44] both of which are excellent empirical studies based on primary data. Outstanding works were also published in the fields of European political history and Chinese diplomatic history.[45]

In the post-war Japan the following conditions have contributed to further development of the study of diplomatic history: 1) expansion of academic freedom in regard to external activities of the government, 2) accessibility of diplomatic, as well as military, records, 3) application of analytical framework developed in political science to the study of diplomatic history.

The Japan Association of International Relations completed *Japan's Road to the Pacific War*[46] in 1956, which took advantage of the data newly made available to the researchers.

Research interest in this field has shifted from the traditional descriptive approach which emphasized bilateral or multilateral relations between states to more modern approaches which cover wider range of political phenomena including political decision-making process, public opinion, pressure groups and process of communication.[47]

Collaborative research with foreign scholars became popular. For instance, a conference was held in 1969 with the participation of the Japanese and American experts, the result of which was published in 1971.[48] It is regretable, however, that the participants in these collaborative research projects have mainly been American scholars. It is to be hoped that in future there will be further opportunities for collaborative research and conferences with scholars from other parts of the world.

b) *Area Studies*

Area studies[49] in the post-war Japan is characterized by the following features: Firstly, research area has expanded geographically. In the pre-war days area studies focused chiefly on East Asia. It now coveres East Asia, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Africa as well as the USSR and Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and the Americas. Secondly, a new generation of area study specialists, having a good command of the languages of the areas of their specialization, has come out with a number of excellent works. Thirdly, Japanese area studies are strongly influenced by American area studies. Many young researchers went to American institutions to acquaint themselves with the American approach to the area studies.

Today research in this field is beginning to take on an original character. It is, however, not free from shortcomings. There remains a need for a more systematic and organized research.

c) *Theoretical Studies*

Theoretical studies in the post-war Japan have been developed under the impact of international studies in the United States. The impact of realist school as represented by H. Morgenthau, E.H. Carr, and G. Kennan inspired international studies in Japan during the first period (1945-1954). As in the U.S.A., polemics between "realist" school and "idealist" school were engaged in this country during this period.[50] Marxist scholars were active in their studies of imperialism.[51]

During the second period that followed the conclusion of the peace treaty (1955-1964), international academic contacts and co-operation drastically increased. Communication model developed by K. Deutch and decision-making model by R. Snyder were introduced by J. Kyogoku, H. Seki, and K. Mushakoji. Other important contributions made during this period include T. Okabe's[52] study on Chinese foreign policy and S. Matsumoto's analysis[53] of voting behaviour of member nations at the United Nations. Efforts were made to introduce and digest behaviouristic approach to international studies developed in the United States.

The third period (1965-74) witnessed new efforts on the part of Japanese scholars for innovative works. We can mention in this connection K. Mushakoji's study[54] of communication patterns of Japanese political leaders, using content analysis technique. A. Watanabe,[55] H. Fukui,[56] S. Eto,[57] C. Hosoya[58] made efforts to identify factors characteristic to Japanese foreign policy-making process. Japanese negotiation patterns were studied by K. Mushakoji. Effort to improve international simulation techniques was made by H. Seki[59], and K. Mushakoji.[60] Kyogoku[61] used quantitative content analysis technique to study correlation between national attributes and nations' external behaviour. Efforts were also made to develop qualitative content analysis techniques. Some Japanese scholars also became interested in peace research during this period.

A new trend in the fourth period (1975-) can be characterized by an increased interest, particularly among younger scholars, in the study of international political economy, regional integration, and transnational relations. This period has also witnessed efforts to develop original theories. Mushakoji[62] sees the cold war period as a transitional period when the traditional international system was gradually replaced by a new international system which requires a new paradigm. Promising works can be found in the above-mentioned areas as well as mathematical analysis of international politico-economic phenomena. Non-national actors were studied by, among others, T. Kamo[63] who researched dynamics and external relations of the European Community. Theoretical contributions to regional integration studies were made by S. Takayanagi.[64] In the field of international political economy we can mention Yamakage's study[65] of the relationships between international economic relations and international conflicts, Sato's analysis[66] of the relations between economic and political aspects as shown in the voting behaviour of member nations at the United Nations. Inoguchi's and Miyatake's analysis[67] of the Russo-Japanese fishing negotiation, based on cybernatic model, should also be mentioned.

H. Peace research

"Democracy" and "peace" have constituted two of the core values for a majority of the Japanese people in the post-war Japan. For them, the defeat in the war had dual significance. Firstly, it meant the collapse of Japanese Fascism which drove Japan to the war of aggression over peoples of Korea, China and the Southeast Asia. From this point of view, the Japanese people were themselves victimizers, and obliged to critically examine their past behaviour. Secondly, the defeat meant the end of the period when the Japanese people were made victims of the state system which put higher value on the state than on individual citizens. In this sense, the Japanese were themselves victims of the war. This perception was further reinforced by the realization that Japan was the only country experiencing atomic holocaust symbolized by "Hiroshima" and "Nagasaki". Out of this perception came the value system which cherished "peace" more than any other value, and which attached importance to international solidarity. This value system is compatible with the world order the new Japanese constitution aspires to.

At the time when the institutionalization of peace research progressed in Europe and the U.S. in the 1960s, the Tokyo Peace Research Group (its official name was the Japan Peace Research and Disarmament Study Group Association of International Relations) was formed, the founding members of which included T. Kawada, H. Seiki, Y. Tanaka, C. Hosoya, K. Mushakoji, and M. Royama.

The cold war between the two blocs still dominated international politics, and an urgent task for peace researchers in Japan as elsewhere was to find ways to prevent nuclear wars between the two superpowers. Y. Sakamoto published a paper[68] entitled "An Alternative to the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty" at the time when the revision of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty became a politically hot issue in this country, in the late 1950s. Out of the same concern, H. Seki[69] wrote "Understanding the Nature of Crisis" in 1963, in which he made theoretical criticism of nuclear-deterrence theories. K. Mushakoji,[70] one of the pioneers of peace research in Japan, published "Behavioural Science for Peace" at about the same time. T. Kawada[71], another intellectual leader of Peace research in Japan, wrote "The Growing Defense Industry of Japan" in 1966. Other important works during this period include "Political Science for Peace" by T. Ishida[72] and "Introduction to Peace Research" by K. Mushakoji.[73]

The Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ) was finally established in 1973. The Association's constitution stipulates that its objective is "to carry out scientific research related to the conditions of peace with the focus on conflicts; to contribute to the academic development of the related fields." The Institute for Peace Science was established at Hiroshima University in the following year. The PSAJ published the first issue of its journal, *Peace Research in Japan* in 1976.

During this period, the range of academic interest on the part of Japanese Peace researchers expanded, and new concepts of "peace" and "violence" chiefly developed by peace researchers in Northern Europe were introduced to Japan. S. Takayanagi[74] wrote "Changing International Politics and the Issues for Peace Research".

The north-south problems were also energetically studied during this period not only by economists but also by some political scientists. J. Nishikawa's[75] "Peace Research and the North-South Problems" provided a new orientation to Japanese peace research in this respect. K. Mushakoji analyzed the nature of the north-south problems in his "The Late-Comers to the Club of Nations".[76] H. Seki wrote "A Pathological Approach to the Decision-Making Theories",[77] in which he analyzed wars waged on the global scale, drawing on an analogy from medical science.

Peace research since 1975 has been characterized by a common concern with global problems. Globalism in this context means a principle, according to which problems occurring on the global scale should, and can, only be solved by joint effort of the humanity across the national and ideological boundaries. Globalism aspires to a new international order and places the highest value on individual citizens in contradistinction to the traditional international system based on the principles of sovereign states and their inviolable national interests.

Out of this perspective came several excellent papers. Mention may be made of H. Seki's "A Vision of Global Political Science",[78] Y. Sakamoto's "A Political Vision for World Disarmament", and K. Mushakoji's "Peace and Diversification of Values".[79]

I. Public administration

The first course on public administration was offered at the University of Tokyo at about the same time as the promulgation of the Meiji constitution to meet the needs of the newly established Meiji state.

Under the surge of the Taisho democracy and in the face of pressing social problems brought about by urbanization in the late Taisho and the early Showa period it was felt necessary to acquire better understanding of the functions of state as well as the problems related to administrative management of the state and to establish public administration as a scientific academic discipline, separate from public administrative law and *'staatslehre'*.

The central figures of the initial endeavour were M. Royama of Tokyo University and T. Tamura of Kyoto University. Under them were trained such excellent scholars of public administration as K. Tsuji, S. Nagahama, and S. Yoshitomi who played dominant roles in the development of public administration in Japan.

Due to various restrictions imposed upon the discipline under the "Emperor-system" in the pre-war Japan, the development of the discipline was hindered in important ways, and public administration was accorded the recognition as a full-fledged academic pursuit only after the war.

Public administration in the post-war Japan has the following salient features:

1) Influence of American public administration is dominant.

2) Empirical studies of various organization of public administration and the civil service systems as well as the institution of local public administration in the West are popular.

3) The issue of local autonomy has received a great deal of attention.

Current disciplinary situation has the following problems: (i) there are only few courses of public administration offered at Japanese universities and the number of trained researchers is rather limited; (ii) theoretical development has been hindered by inaccessibility of primary data on policy-making process and administrative management indispensable to scientific research due largely to the secretiveness on the part of Japanese bureaucracy.

II. POLITICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

Political science research and education in Japan have certain institutional characteristics that merit attention.

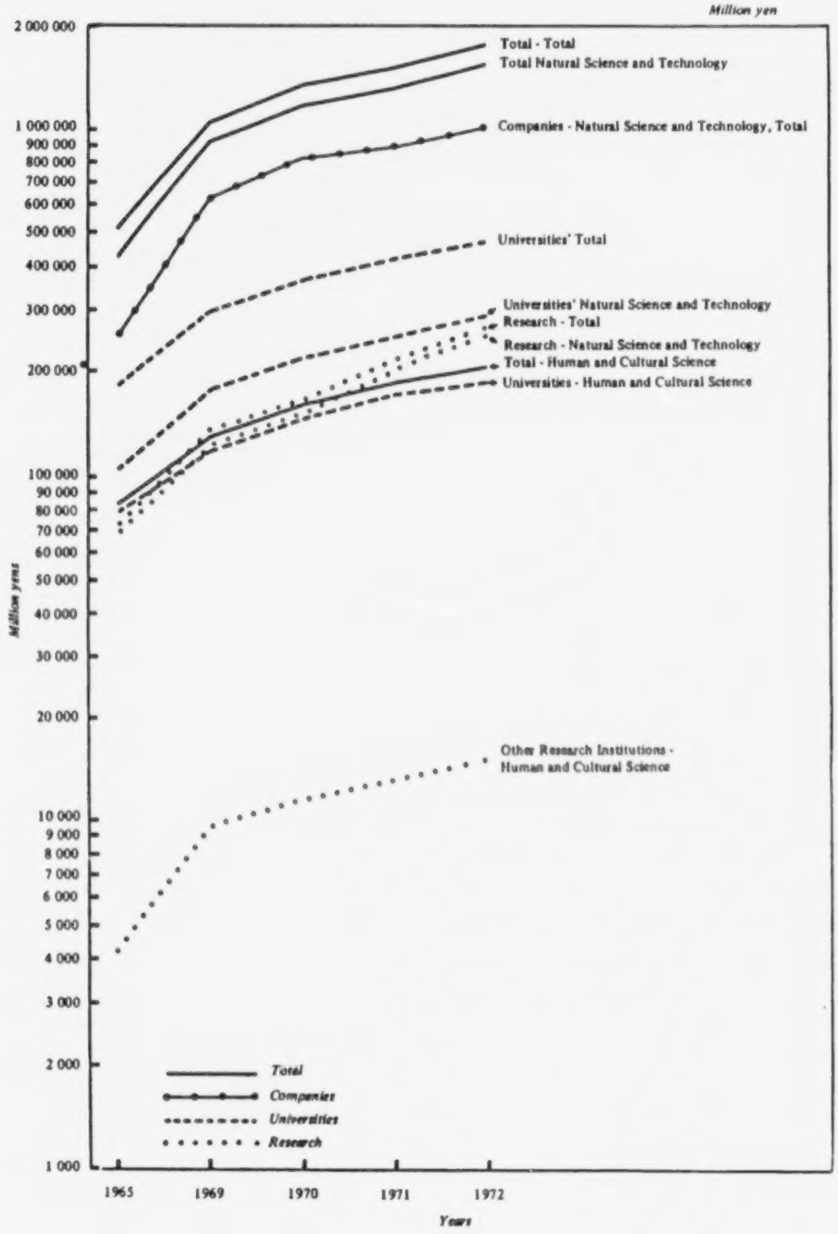
1. Research

A. Financing

The report on the Survey of Research and Development in Japan (1973) prepared by the Bureau of Statistics, Office of the Prime Minister, Japan, and as quoted in the OECD report, *Social Science Policy: Japan* (1977) reveals the financial aspects of research conditions in various fields of academic pursuit in Japan.

Graph 1 indicates that research activities in humanities and social sciences are largely conducted within universities and university-based research organizations, in contrast to the natural sciences which are heavily financed by the industries.

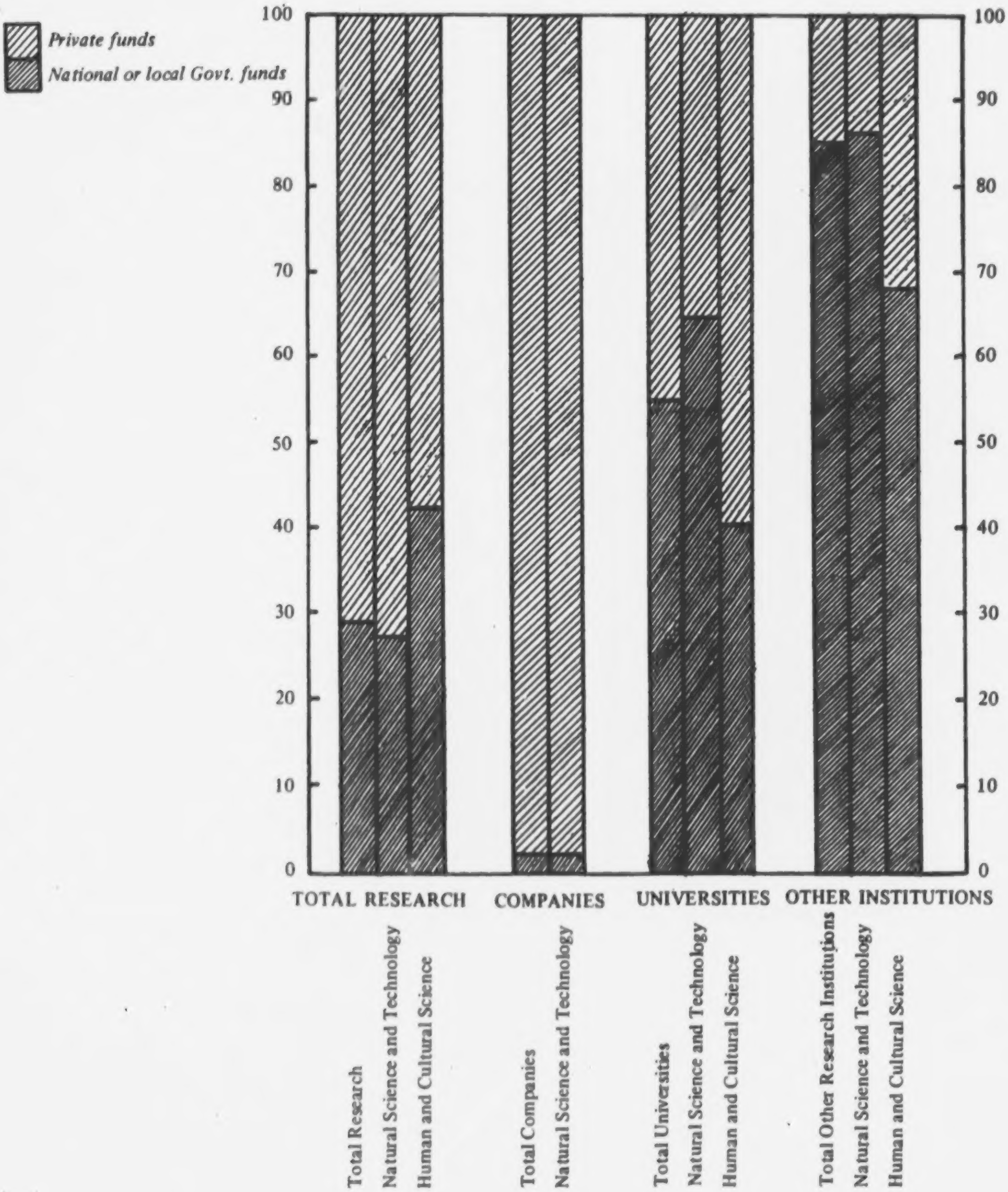
Graph 1. Trends in research institutions funds



Remarks: Research funds indicate the expenses incurred for personnel expenses, raw material expenses, purchase expenses of materials and fixed assets, and other expenses.

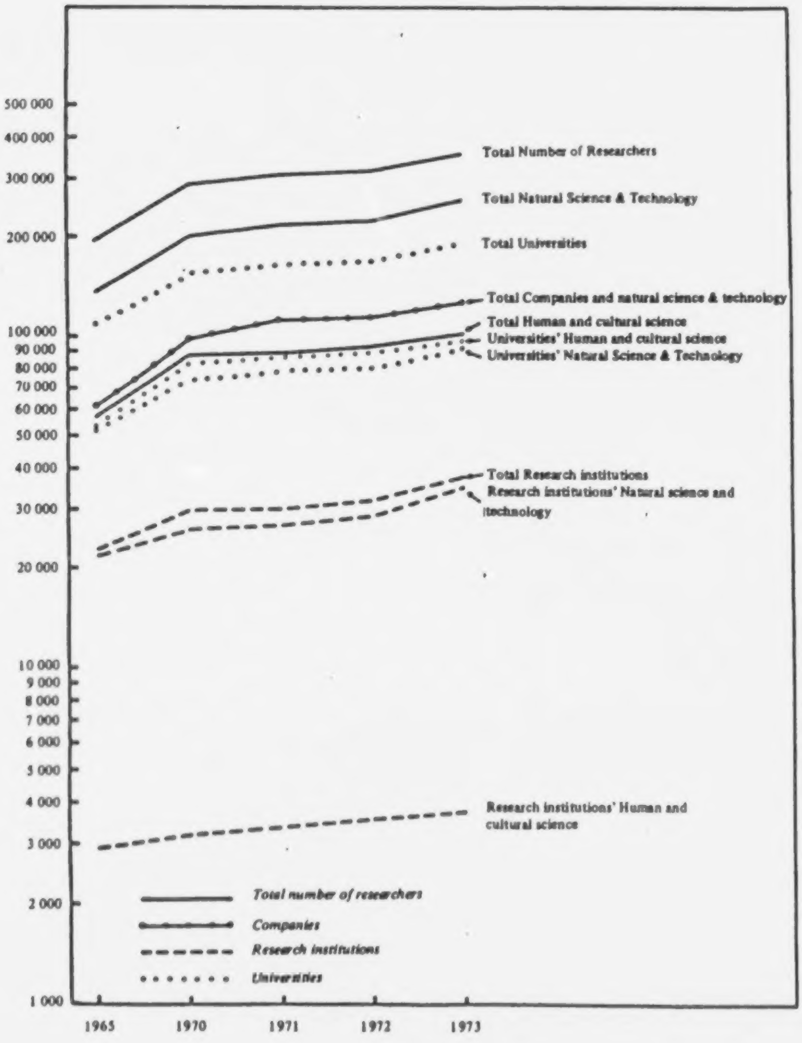
Of the total research funds for university-based human and social sciences research, 40% are appropriated by the national and local government funds and the rest by private funds. The situation remains largely the same with the total research funding for these disciplines.

Graph 2. Sources of research institutions funds in Japan (Fiscal year 1972)



Financial assistance by the government in fiscal year 1974 to humanities and social sciences constituted relatively small portion both in terms of the number of items accepted by the government and financial assistance appropriated. (projects approved: 13.7%, fund appropriated: 9.1% of the total) This, however, is largely due to a small number of applications in human and social science sectors for such grants. Of the total applications in humanities and social sciences 31.1% was approved by the government. (See Graph 3, and Tables 1 & 2)

Graph 3. Trends in the Number of Researchers in Japan



Remarks: Researchers indicate those who completed the whole course of university (excluding college) and have a research experience over 2 years as well as being engaged in research under specific research theme, or those who have expertise equal to or more than those above.

Table 1. Screening of applications for grants-in-aid for scientific research (Fiscal year 1974)

Field	*Research item*				
	Applications *(A)*	*Percentage* *(A)*	*Acceptance* *(B)*	*Percentage* *(B)*	*Percentage* $\left(\frac{B}{A}\right)$
Humanities and social sciences	2,888	11.5	897	13.7	31.1
Physical sciences	7,699	30.8	1,958	29.9	25.4
Chemical sciences	4,218	16.9	1,133	17.3	26.9
Biological sciences	10,223	40.8	2,556	39.1	25.0
Total	25,028	100.0	6,544	100.0	26.1

Note: Not included in the above are expenditures for scientific surveys overseas, research grants for school teachers and independent researchers, and research publication expenditures.

Table 2. Allocation of grants-in-aid for scientific research (Fiscal year 1974)

(Yen 1,000)

Field	*Research expenditures*					
	Amount in applications *(C)*	*Percentage* *(C)*	*Amount in applications for items accepted* *(D)*	*Amount allocated* *(E)*	*Percentage* *(E)*	*Percentage* $\frac{E}{D}$
Humanities and social sciences	5,213,803	8.4	1,941,911	1,171,710	9.1	60.3
Physical sciences	20,024,036	32.2	5,904,799	4,296,540	33.2	72.8
Chemical sciences	10,115,670	16.3	2,539,550	2,041,010	15.8	80.4
Biological sciences	26,768,486	43.1	7,886,941	5,426,750	41.9	68.8
Total	62,121,995	100.0	18,273,201	12,936,010	100.0	70.8

Note: Not included in the above are expenditures for scientific surveys overseas, research grants for school teachers and independent researchers, and publication expenditures.

B. Researchers and research organizations

As Graph 3 shows, about half of the researchers in humanities and social sciences belong to either universities or university-based research institutes. As of march 1, 1972 there were 23,034 full-time teachers (which corresponds to 28.6% of the total teaching population in Japan) in human and social sciences at the universities.

According to the membership list of the Japanese Political Science Association in 1979, there were about 710 members. About 160 of them are specialists in political history. Another 160 are specialists of history of political thought. This accounts for 40 per cent of the politcal scientists in Japan. Research output also reflects this distribution. In 1975, in the field of political history 115 papers and 41 books were published, and in the field of political philosophy, 75 papers and 23 books. They represent 40% of the total number of political science papers and books published in 1975.

Degree held by political science teachers are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Degree held by faculty by type of university

degree *university*	*Japanese B.A.*	*Japanese M.A.*	*Japanese Ph.D*	*Ph.D*	*M.A.*	*Total*
national public	71	62	27	2	1	163
private	64	116	70	9	3	262
Total	135	178	97	11	4	425

Source: Compiled by the authors from the data collected from the major Japanese universities.

As is the case with social science in general political science research is mainly conducted by political scientists who are full-time teachers at universities. Political science researchers who belong to the undergraduate school teach mainly political science as one of the liberal arts subjects and/or as a specialized subject for political science majors. Besides teaching assignments they conduct their research on their own.

In Japan, most of the research institutes are attached to universities. There are, however, some important independent research institutes.

C. Professional organizations

The Japan Political Science Association established in 1948 is the most important among professional organizations for political scientists in Japan. It had 710 members in 1979 which rose to 738 in 1983. The Association publishes regularly *The Annals of the Japan Political Science Association* and "Publication on Political Science in Japan." It is affiliated to the International Political Science Association (IPRA).

D. Outlets for research results

The outlets for research results are usually provided by study groups of universities and research institutes. There are more formal channels such as symposia sponsored by various professional associations, in addition to the professional journals published by universities, professional associations, general magazines,[80, 81] and newspapers.[82] Magazines and newspapers are mainly used to inform general public of professional opinions on current issues. Nation-wide newspapers play an important role in disseminating experts' views to the general public.

E. International co-operation

Historically, Japanese political scientists have always been sensitive to research trends abroad, especially in Europe and the U.S.A. Research trends abroad are almost simultaneously reflected in research papers by Japanese political scientists. In recent years the scope and volume of contacts with foreign experts has vastly expanded due largely to (i) opportunities for Japanese researchers to study abroad and (ii) increasing number of visits by the foreign political scientists to Japan. What was once characterized as unilateral communication has now developed into more balanced bilateral relationships. As contacts with political scientists from other countries increased, it began to be realized that collaboration with political scientists from the Third World is just as important as the co-operation with European and American political scientists. Efforts have been made to increase contacts with the former[83] through universities, research institutes and professional associations. Exchanges of publications between Japanese universities, research institutes and professional associations and their counterparts in other countries have greatly increased in the past few years.

2. Political Science Education

A. Undergraduate education

In Japan, political science education is carried out within the framework of four-year undergraduate course. The political science department belongs either to the law faculty or to the faculty of political economy. At present, there are only 18 universities (4 national and public universities and 14 private universities) which teach political science. At 13 universities[84] (4 national and public and 9 private universities) political science is taught at the faculty of law, and at five universities[85] (all private) political science is a part of the faculty of political economy.

Undergraduate education consists of two parts: liberal arts education and specialized education. The freshmen and the sophomore years are mainly for liberal arts subjects, which are supplemented by some introductory courses on specialized subjects. Specialized courses are taught in junior and the senior years, and they are divided into compulsory subjects and optional subjects.[86, 87]

Table 4. Course offered by type of university

	undergraduate course	*graduate course*	*doctors course*
national	92	72	36
public	33	20	14
private	318	157	113
Total	443	249	163

132 credits are normally required for the basic degree (bachelor's degree), of which 44 credits are from liberal arts subjects and the remainder from the specialized subjects.

Courses are normally taught to large classes in lecture formats, providing instruction on the basic ideas constituting the traditional disciplinary thinking. Lectures are given once a week (two hours) and the final examination is given at the end of each academic year. The students are graded on a scale of four: 'excellent', 'good', 'fair', and 'poor'. Students with the mark of 'fair' or above are granted 4 credits per course.

Lectures are supplemented by weekly meetings of smaller tutorial groups (seminars), where students are helped to develop, through discussion and essay composition, an elaborate and personalized understanding of these topics.

B. Graduate education

Specialized education of political science is mainly offered in graduate schools today as a result of "massification" of undergraduate education. Postgraduate education comprises of the master's course (two years) and the doctor's course (three years).

At present, there are only 7 national/public and 12 private universities which offer political science course at graduate level.[88]

The master's course training requires further upgrading and is nearly always taught in a seminar mode whereby students take turns to prepare materials to present to the rest of the class for discussion. Students are required to demonstrate some original thinking in their research essays.

The master's course education is devoted entirely to courses within the special discipline.[89]

Successful completion of the required courses qualifies the student to undertake work for a master's thesis.

For those who have completed the master's course and the master's thesis, there is an opportunity for working towards a Ph.D. degree.

Table 5. Change in number of students enrolled by type of faculty

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
humanities	13.1	13.0	13.1	13.1	13.2	13.3	13.7
social sciences	41.7	41.6	41.7	41.6	41.4	41.2	40.8
science	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.1
engineering	20.9	20.6	20.2	20.0	19.8	19.7	19.4
agriculture	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.4
medicine dentistry	3.2	3.3	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.8	4.0
pharmocology	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.0
home economics	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9
general education	7.0	7.1	7.2	7.4	7.5	7.5	7.6
others	3.8	4.1	4.0	4.1	3.7	4.3	4.1

Table 6. Number of graduate students enrolled by type of faculty

Master's Course

engineering	40.8%
humanities	15.9%
social sciences	12.9%
science	10.3%
agriculture	7.6%

Doctor's Course

health (medicine dentistry pharmacology)	31.7%
humanities	15.6%
science	14.9%
engineering	14.1%
social sciences	13.7%

C. Occupational opportunity

Job market for political science majors at the undergraduate level covers a wide range of field as shown in Table 8. At graduate school level only a small portion succeeds in finding positions as researchers at either universities or research institutes upon completion of their training. More detailed data, however, are not available.

Table 7. Employment (the University of Tokyo)

number of graduating students *employment*	*62*
manufacturing industries	10 (16.1%)
service industries	5 (8.1%)
journalism	6 (9.7%)
public corporations	5 (8.1%)
public service	3 (4.8%)
legal profession	0
diplomatic service	1 (1.6%)
research (including graduate school)	7 (11.3%)

III. AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE

In 1977 the OECD published a report entitled "Social Sciences Policy: Japan",[90] which made a series of recommendations concerning social science research and education policies in Japan.

The report makes the following points:

1) Social sciences in Japan are detached from reality and are too abstract to be useful for decision-makers. Social sciences in Japan are generally backward in the field of empirical research.

2) The Ministry of Education neglected to develop a sound social sciences policy comparable to the ones instituted for natural sciences.

3) Most social science researchers are not actively engaged in behaviourally oriented social research, and they merely impart traditional disciplinary theories to students.

4) At graduate level there is no unified curriculum and the content of graduate education is out-dated, and the university structure based on "chair system" is too rigid to respond to changes taking place in the social sciences.

5) Library and other data service facilities are deficient.

The report was generally welcomed by Japanese social scientists.

It is our belief that the recommendations are, as a whole, constructive and pertinent; however, we have some reservations over the evaluation of Japanese social science research and education by the OECD report and over the assumptions from which the above evaluation seems to have been derived.[91]

Much has been done to improve the system of education and research in natural sciences and engineering in Japan in recent years. There has, however, been no commensurate development in social sciences, as rightly pointed out in the OECD report. Japanese universities are characterized by their rigid and somewhat introverted faculties and disciplines, as represented by the "chair system", which is also criticized, quite correctly we believe, by the OECD report.

We should like to make the following recommendations, which are largely based on the OECD recommendations with revisions made in important respects after due consideration to the nature of the discipline of political science and the prevailing disciplinary situation in Japan.

In any effort to reform the existing system of research and education the following points should be taken into consideration:

1) Japanese children should be introduced to social sciences at an earlier age. The systematic teaching of social sciences should be extended to secondary education. At the same time, entrance examination to universities should give greater weight to the testing of social science knowledge.

2) Social sciences should be incorporated into undergraduate programmes of

study in such a way as to provide students with a greater appreciation for behavioural, empirical and interdisciplinary approaches to social problems.

3) Plans should urgently be made for more effective graduate schools, complementing teaching with research. More professionally-oriented university programmes at the master's degree level, combining basic knowledge of the discipline with training in its practical application to social problems should be instituted.

4) Although the "chair system" in Japanese universities has its merits, it does tend to perpetuate rather static academic approaches to teaching of social science disciplines which are continually undergoing changes. It also makes co-operation among colleagues difficult. Moreover, it tends to inhibit the introduction of new topics. The "chair system" should be made more flexible and adapted to the needs of different disciplines.

5) Measures should be taken to increase mobility between research institutes and corresponding faculties, which would allow researchers and teachers to have the benefit of "visiting professors" either from other Japanese universities or from abroad.

6) The government should finance occasional international social science conferences and should make increased provision for participation by Japanese social scientists in overseas conferences.

7) Research results are often only privately circulated. They need to be made more widely available, both to promote broader possibilities for their utilization, and to ensure a more open system of "peer review" and professional criticism, nationally and internationally. As a start, efforts should be made to ensure that a larger number of the most outstanding Japanese works in social sciences be translated and regular series of abstracts of others be published in a European language.

8) Additional financing should be made available to both national and private universities so that social science staff can be increased. In addition, increased research support, students fellowships and expanded information services are vitally needed.[92]

NOTES

[1] S. Yoshino, "The Birth of Political Consciousness in Modern Japan"

[2] J.S. Mills' 'On Liberty' was a bestseller in 1872. Political ideas were also introduced through popular translations of novels such as Disraeli's 'Contingsby' or Bulwer-Lytton's 'Earnest Maltravers'. During these years 'Magna Carta' was circulated in fascimilie reprints; the name of Rousseau was repeated as if it were a saviour. Patrick Henry was well-known to many, and his words, 'Give me Liberty, or give me death', became a slogan. E. Wilkinson's "Misunderstanding" was also quite popular.

[3] H. Kato, "New Theory of National Polity"

[4] E. Ueki, "On Civil Liberty"

[5] Y. Fukuzawa, "The Encouragement of Learning", "Conditions in the West"

"The Encouragement of Learning" appeared in 17 parts between 1872 and 1884. Some 200,000 copies of each were printed and sold, making a total sale of 3,400,000 copies.

[6] H. Ono, "General Theory of National Constitution"

[7] K. Onozuka, "General Outline of Political Science", "Studies in Modern Politics"

[8] S. Yoshino, "Reform of Political Science"

[9] M. Hasegawa, "Critique of Modern Polity"

[10] K. Sugimori, "The Future of the State and New Principles of Politics"

[11] K. Ohyama, "Social Basis of Politics", "Political Process of Modern Japan"

[12] Karl Rathgen's important works include "Japans Volkswirtschaft und Staathaushalt", 1891, "Die Japaner und ihre wirtschaftliche Entwickelung" (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt, 72), 1905, "Staat und Kultur der Japaner" 1907.

[13] J.C. Bluntschuli's "Allgemeines Staatsrecht" in 1872.

[14] K. Takahashi, "Political Science" 1922, B. Murase, "Problems of Political Philosophy" (1922)

[15] Y. Takata, "Principles of Sociology", (1919)
S. Nakajima, "Pluralistic Theory of State" (1922)

[16] "So-called Political Phenomena External to the State" by Shioda (1936)
"Typologies of Definition of Political Concepts" by Tabata
"Tasks and Objects of Political Science", by M. Royama (1925)

[17] S. Fujisawa, "Political Philosophy of the Japanese Race" (1936)

[18] S. Ikeda, "The Foundation of Political Science in Japan" (1942)

[19] An Excellent paper was written on this subject by M. Maruyama: "Logic and Psychology of Ultra-Nationalism" (1946)

[20] K. Tsuboi, "Relationship between History and Economics"
H. Kawakami, "New Concept of History: Professor Sengmann's Economic Explanation of History"

[21] K. Fukumoto, "Treatise on Historical Materialism" (1928)

[22] Y. Ohmori, "Historical Materialism"

[23] S. Ichikawa, "Short History of Class Struggles by Japan Communist Party" (1946)
The following books were successively published immediately after the war:
Institute of Social, Economic, Labor Affairs, (ed.)
"History of Polemics on Democratic Revolution in Japan" (1947)
K. Fukumoto, "Historical Materialism and Critique of Pure Reason" (1947)
Y. Suzuki, "Studies of Historical Materialism" (1948), "Historical Materialism and Political Science" (1948)

[24] M. Maruyama, "Politics as a Science" (1953). This paper is contained in *Thought and Behaviour of Modern Japanese Politics*

[25] M. Royama, "The Development of Modern Political Science in Japan"

[26] The Japan Political Science Association, "The Past and the Future of Political Science" (1950)

[27] M. Maruyama, "The Logic and Psychology of Ultra-Nationalism", "The Thought and Movement of Japanese Fascism", and "The Psychological Characteristics of Military Leaders"

[28] The research results were published in "Shiso" (1953-54) The "Shiso" also devoted its 1952 issue to the question of the emperor system.

[29] As examples we can mention: T. Ishida, "Studies of the History of Political Thought in the Meiji Era" (1954), "Studies of the Structure of Modern Politics" and S. Fujita, "Ruling Principles of the Emperor System"

[30] In this field, J. Kamijima's works "Psychological Structure of Modern Japan" (1961), "The World of Politics" (1977), and "The Eye to Watch Politics" (1979) are important.

[31] R. Royama, "The Anatomy of Political Consciousness", and "The Surveys of the General Elections"

[32] M. Maruyama, who is considered to be one of the pioneers of behaviourism in Japan, introduced H. Lasswell's works to Japanese political Science. Lasswellian terminology became popular among behaviourally oriented political scientists, who tried to develop political process models, based on the communication model. In this connection Y. Oka, Y. Nagai, T. Yoshida, and J. Kyogoku made important contributions.

[33] This process of Americanization of political science in Japan can, according to J. Kyogoku, be partly accounted for by the fact that it became rather easy to go to the United States to study, and also it was considered here that theories of American politics provided important sources of information and examples for democratic politics.

[34] According to Kyogoku, while Japanese political science is quite advanced internationally in the theoretical analyses of psychological aspect of political phenomena, it still lags behind in the development of quantitiative analyses. Development of mathematical models is almost non-existent, and as a result, simulation models for Japanese politics are yet to be developed. Only exception is H. Seki's effort to apply game theories to international politics.

[35] This issue contains the following papers: 1) "Dynamics of International Relations" by Y. Oka, 2) "Configuration of Political Power" by K. Tsuji & Y. Oka, 3) "Business as a System of Power" by S. Shinobu, 4) "Purge Policy and After" by H. Kinoshita, "Organized Labour and Farmer: Their Rise and Fall" by M. Sumiya, 5) "Conflict between Political Behaviours: Old and New" by J. Kyogoku & J. Masumi.

[36] K. Matsushita, "Conditions of Contemporary Politics"

[37] In this issue can be found: 1) "Great Society and Group Theory" by K. Matsushita, 2) "Metamorphosis of Liberalism under Mass Society" by R. Ishigami, 3) "Marxism and Mass Mind" by S. Inomoto, 4) "Labour Movement and "Myth of Revolution" by T. Igarashi

[38] Y. Oka (ed.), "Political Process of Japanese Politics" (Iwanami, 1958). Subsequent studies done with the same perspective can be found in the following issues of the Annals of the JPSA:

Pressure Groups in Japan (1960)
Theories and Survey of Political Consciousness (1965)
The Parties and Bureaucracy in Contemporary Japan–Since the Conservative Fusion in 1955 (1967)
Formation and Structure of Political Attitudes in Contemporary Japan (1970)
The Political Process in Modern Japan (1977)

[39] K. Matsushita's major works in this field include the following:

"Concept of Civil Minimum" (1971)
"Conditions of Contemporary Politics" (1959)
"Political Structure of Contemporary Japan" (1962)
"Reflections on Urban Policies" (1971)
"Political Participation" (1971)
"Civil Autonomy and the Theories of Constitution" (1975)
"Policy Vision for Civil Autonomy" (1980)

[40] *Political Participation: Theories and Practice* contains the following papers: 1) "Political Participation and Contemporary Political Science" by H. Uchiyama; 2) "The Impact of Urbanization on the Structure of Political Participation" by M. Uchida, 3) "Political Participation and Administrative Process in Contemporary Japan" by M. Murmatsu, 4) "Functions of Neighborhood Protest Movements in the Japanese Administrative Process" by M. Nishio; 5) "City-Planning and Citizens' Participation" by K. Yokayama; 6) "Political Participation in Sparesely Populated Area: Case Studies in Hokkaido" by A. Sogame; 7) "Political Participation in a Metropolitan Area" by N. Mizuguchi, 8) "Elections and Citizens' Movements in Japan" by H. Satake.

41 Important works in this field include the following:

"Sociology of Local Politics" (1977) by T. Furushiro

"Politics of Local Autonomy" (1972) by Y. Ide

"Political Process of Industrialized Society" (1965) by M. Ohara and K. Yokoyama

"Regional Development and Environmental Destruction" (1974) by J. Sato (ed.)

"Regional Development in Japan" (1965) by J. Sato

"Visions and Reality of Regional Development" (1965) by S. Fukutake (ed.)

"Logics of Citizens' Movements" (1977) by J. Matsubara (ed.)

"Regional Development and Local Autonomy" (1977) by K. Miyamoto

42 *The 1970 issue of the Annals of the JPAS* entitled "Comparative Political Analysis" includes the following papers: 1) Arduous Paths to Power: The European Non-Communist Left in 1960s by K. Iwanaga, 2) Scandinavian Democracy: Introduction to the Study of Comparative Politics about the Formation of "Pluralistic Society" by K. Okano, 3) Elections and Political Parties in Malaysia: A Study of Politics in Plural Society by N. Hagiwara, 4) The Electoral Process in India: The case of the 1971 General Election by T. Mori, 5) The Racial Question in the "Fragment" Society: Comparative Approach to Latin America, Canada, and the United States by H. Abe, 6) Regional Planning and Politics: A Comparative Study of Japan and Germany by M. Ohara, 7) The Development of Comparative Methods in Contemporary Political Science by H. Uchiyama, 8) Comparative Politics and Administration: Movement, Development and Paradox by Y. Ide.

The 1976 Issue of the Annals of the JPSA contains the following: 1) Magnetic Fields in Political Science by J. Kamishima, 2) Political Theory of Movements by M. Takabatake, 3) Event Some Comments on its Political Implication by K. Higuchi, 4) Theory of Politics of Language by A. Kurihara, 5) Politics of Peace by H. Seki, 6) The Politics of the Third World by T. Mori, 7) A Third World Approach to Political Science by K. Mushakoji, 8) Political Anthropology by Y. Maeda, 9) Mathematical and Quantitative Political Science by Y. Yamamoto.

The 1980 Issue of the JPSA contains the following: 1) Political Science and Political Philosophy by O. Ono, 2) Political Sociology and Political Economy in Marxist State-Theory by F. Taguchi, 3) Economic Theories and Political Science–Economic Inequality and Political Equality by I. Kabashima, 4) The Cybernetic Theories of Political behaviour by K. Yamakawa, 5) Area Studies and Political Science by T. Yano, 6) "Lebensform" and Political Thought–Historical Change of "Burgertum" by H. Kageyama, 7) Fascism, "Modernization", "Totalitarianism"–The Place of Theory in the Historical Research

43 S. Nobuo, "The Sino-Japanese War" (1934)

44 K. Taho, "Studies of Modern Japan-Korean Relations" (1940)

45 H. Kamikawa, "Modern International Political History"; K. Irie, "Rivalry between England and Russia in the Areas surrounding China"

46 The Japan Association of International Relations, "Japan's Road to the Pacific War" (1956), 8 Vols.

47 H. Seki, "The Halpin Revolution in 1917" (1958); S. Sato, R. Dingman, "External Behaviour of Modern Japan" (1974)

48 C. Hosoya et al., "The History of Japanese American Relations" (1971-1972), Tokyo University

49 Comprehensive bibliography in this field can be found in "The Study of International Relations in the Post-War Japan" (1979)

50 The common concern in the late 1950s for Japan which newly gained its independence was that of self-identity in international community.

Realists contended that Japan could function as an independent nation only by identifying herself with the free world. Idealists, on the other hand, maintained that Japan should oppose the imperialistic military strategy of the U.S. and follow her own course, identifying herself with the humanity as a whole.

In the 1960s, as Japanese economy developed rapidly, there emerged a view of international politics which demanded that Japan be an active player of international politics where power struggle among nations dominated. This view provided a new perspective to the analysis of the post-war international politics.

Idealists, critical of this perspective, advocated a foreign policy firmly based on the ideal set by the U.N. Charter and the Japanese Constitution, and based on international co-operation, with Japan leading the way to world peace.

The former view of international politics was represented by M. Kosaka and Y. Nagai, among others, the latter by Y. Sakamoto and H. Seki.

In the U.S., political realism developed into a view critical of the cold war foreign policy and Vietnam War, but Realists in Japan developed a perspective generally sympathetic to American foreign policy.

[51] K. Maeshiba, "Theory of International Politics"
K. Okakura, "Theory of World Politics"

[52] T. Okabe, "Study of the External Policy of Communist China by Content Analysis Technique" (1964)

[53] S. Matsumoto, "Japan's Voting Behaviour at the United Nations" (1964)

[54] K. Mushakoji, "Comparative Study of Negotiation Behaviour between Japan and the United States: Gaming Approach" (1970)

[55] A. Watanabe, "Foreign Policy Making, Japanese Style" (1978)

[56] H. Fukui, "Policy-Making in Japanese Foreign Ministry" (1977)

[57] S. Eto, "Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process in Japan" (1974)

[58] C. Hosoya, "Characteristics of the Foreign Policy; Decision-Making System in Japan" (1974)

[59] H. Seki, "The Foundation of International Systems Theoery" (1967)

[60] K. Mushakoji, "Behavioural Science and International Politics" (1972)

[61] J. Kyogoku, H. Inoue, "Ranking of Nations in the Present World" (1965)

[62] K. Mushakoji, "The Eye to Observe International Politics" (1977)

[63] T. Kamo, "Theories of International Political Integration" (1973)

[64] S. Takayanagi, "Theory of Functional Integration" (1972)

[65] S. Yamakage, "Extra-Regional Dependence of the ASEAN Region: The Transactional Analysis of Trade Flows" (1977)

[66] Y. Sato, "Politics of 'Self-Help'–Relation between Development Strategies of the Third World and their Voting Behaviour at the United Nations" (1978)

[67] Inoguchi, N. Miyatake, "The Politics of Decrementalism: The Soviet-Japanese Salmon Catch Negotiation, 1957-77" (1978)

[68] Y. Sakamoto, "International Politics in Nuclear Age" (1959)

[69] H. Seki, "On Understanding the Nature of Crisis" (1963)

[70] K. Mushakoji, "Behavioural Science for Peace" (1966)

[71] T. Kawada, "The Growing Defense Industry of Japan" (1966)

[72] Y. Ishida, "Political Science for Peace" (1968)

[73] K. Mushakoji, "Introduction to Peace Research" (1969)

[74] S. Takayanagi, "Changing International Politics and the Issue for Peace Research" (1973)

[75] J. Nishaikawa, "Peace Research and the North-South Problems" (1974)

[76] K. Mushakoji, "The Late-Comers to the Club of Nations" (1975)

[77] H. Seki, "A Pathological Approach to the Decision-Making Theories" (1977)

78 H. Seki, "A Vision of Global Politics" (1977)

79 K. Mushakoji, "Peace and Diversification of Values" (1977)

80 *Weekly Magazines:* "Asahi Janaru" (Asahi Shimbun), "Ekonomisto" (Mainichi Shimbun)

81 *Monthly Magazines:* "Sekai" (Iwanami), "Shiso" (Iwanami), "Chuo Koron" (Chuo Koron), "Bungei Shunju" (Bunjei Shunju), "Gendai to Shiso" (Aoki Shobo), "Keizai Hyoron" (Nihon Hyoronsha)

82 The Asahi Shimbun, The Mainichi Shimbun, The Yomiuri Shimbun, The Tokyo Shimbun

83 As examples of international collaborations can be mentioned the following conferences: (I) In 1982, a symposium on *International Round Table: Political Development and the New International Economic Order in Asia and the Pacific* was held under the auspices of the Japan Political Science Association and the International Political Science Association. At this conference, following the keynote speeches, discussions were held in five sessions. The first session was on the theme of "In Search of New Designs for Political Development", the second session was on "Political Leadership and National Interests", and the third on "Proliferation of Military Power and the New International Economic Order", and the fourth session on "Relationships of Political and Economic Dependence among States", and the fifth on "In Search of New International Order". There were 46 participants from abroad and 19 from Japan. The foreign participants were from the following countries: U.S.A. (4 participants), Canada (5), England (2), France (1), West Germany (2), Italy (1), Switzerland(1), Norway (1), Ireland (1), Spain (1), Soviet Union (2), Poland (1), Yougoslavia (1), China (1), Republic of Korea (1), Singapore (1), Thailand (2), The Philippines (1), Malaysia (1), Indonesia (1), India (3), Australia (1), Chile (1), Mexico (1), Venezuela (1), Brazil (3). (II) Another international conference was held in Yokohama in December, 1980 on *Asian Peace Research in the Global Context* and was sponsored by the International Peace Research Association in collaboration with other organizations. The keynote speeches were delivered on the following themes: "Militarization and Development", "Underdevelopment and Alternative Development Strategies", and "Transforming Values and Creating a New Cultural Identity". This was followed by discussion in three sub-committees. In this conference 53 persons participated from Japan and 30 from abroad.

(National universities) Tokyo University, Nagoya University

(Public) Tokyo Metropolitical University

(Private) Keio University, Chuo University, Hosei University, Gakushuin University, Komazawa University, Doshisha University, Kansai University, Kansei Gakuin University

85 Waseda University, Meiji University, Tokai University, Takushoku University, Kokushikan University

86 Compulsory subjects include the following: 1) European political history, 2) Political science (introduction), 3) Japanese political history, 4) History of European political thoughts, 5) History of Japanese political thoughts, 6) Public administration, 7) International politics. Optional subjects include 1) History of social thoughts, 2) History of social movements, 3) American politics, 4) Political sociology, 5) Local politics, 6) Soviet Politics, 7) Political process, 8) Communications, 9) Chinese politics. Students can also choose from among subjects related to economics such as Japanese economic history, European economic history, public finance, economics (introduction) as well as from among subjects related to jurisprudence.

87 The content of the courses offered at the University of Tokyo is as follows: 1) *Political process:* Comments on the actual state of contemporary politics in Japan as well as discussion of the structure of orders and their implementation problems, 2) *Diplomatic history of Japanese politics:* Analysis of structural transformation of Japanese domestic politics and diplomacy during the period from the Manchurian Incident to the end of the Pacific War, 3) *European Political history:* Analysis of modern European history from the perspective of political science, 4) *Public Administration:* Analysis of modern government which is characterized by a dominance of the administrative branch, 5) *Comparative politics:* Compative analysis of politics in the communist-block countries, 6) *International politics:* Theoretical analysis of the implication of the transformation of international system from the classical international system to contemporary world political system, 7) *History of political science:* Historical analysis of the evolution of political perception in modern Europe, 8) *History of Japanese political thought:* Analysis of the structure and characteristics of political thought in modern Japan with special emphasis on transition from the Tokugawa period to the Meiji period, 9) *International political history:* Analysis of international politics in the 20th century with main focus on imperialism and causes of the two world wars, 10) *American diplomatic history:* Historical analysis of American politics, 11) *Diplomatic history of Asia:* Analysis of domestic and international politics of Asian countries after Second World War.

88 (National) Tohoku University, Tokyo University, Nagoya University, Kyoto University, Okayama University, Kyushu University

(Public) Tokyo Metropolitan University

(Private) Waseda University, Keio University, Chuo University, Meiji University, Hosei University, Gakushuin University, Nihon University, Seikei University, Tokai University, Kokushikan University, Doshisha University, Kanseigakuin University

[89] The following courses were offered at the graduate school of the University of Tokyo in the academic year 1982: 1) The Soviet Union in the 1930s, 2) Analysis of Political Process, 3) Examination of the Concept of "Welfare" from the Perspective of Comparative Culture, 4) Comparative Political Study, 5) Re-examination of Administrative and Political Terminology, 6) Reading of Original Literature on the History of Political Science, 7) Reading of Basic Literature on Public Administration, 8) Political Philosophy of Taisho Democracy, 9) Reading of Historical Documents on the History of Political Thought in the Tokugawa Period, 10) Militarization and Disarmament, 11) Problems of Political History in the Showa Period, 12) Problems of Modern Japanese History, 13) Political and Historical Study of Conflicts, 14) Party System and Political Parties in West Germany, 15) The Post-War American Policies toward Asia, 16) Specialized study of Asian Politics and Diplomacy, 17) Militarization and Development Theories and the Present International Situation, 18) Quantitative Political Science.

[90] For more detailed analysis of the contemporary state of social science research and education, see OECD, *Social Sciences Policy: Japan*, 1977.

[91] Although this recommendation does not outright reject the important function of pure research in social sciences, and the intention of the reporters was probably to point out the fact that in Japan social science research is being carried out without due consideration of practical values of research results. Yet we cannot but feel that the recommendations do seem to underestimate the role that pure research plays in social sciences. Progress in applied science has often been facilitated by the development in pure sciences. This applies to social sciences as well as to natural sciences.

Furthermore, historically political science has developed as a critical science. The primary purpose of political science is not, and should not be, to render pragmatic service to decision-makers. Granted that results of research may be utilized by decision-makers, it is merely coincidental, and not intentional. Here lies important difference between political science and policy science.

It is also pointed out in the report that social sciences in Japan have not taken behaviouristic approach seriously. This is a relevant point, but a caveat is in order. In any branch of social sciences, there are certain areas where behaviouristic approach proves particularly effective. In political science, the analysis of voting behaviour patterns and political attitude falls in this category. But in other areas it has not proved equally effective and in some areas the so-called traditional approaches seem to be more useful. It fails to put relative potency and relevance of different approaches in our methodological choice in proper perspective.

Behaviourism and policy science are thought to be extremely important in America. This fact should be understood in the proper context of differences in political cultures. Predominant status accorded to behaviourism and policy science in America can be explained by the fact that American society is generally free from acute domestic ideological confrontation. Because of ideological homogeneity prevalent in American society politics there could be highly pragmatic; its primary function being that of resolution of material conflicts of interest among different segments of the society. What was required was the know-how for technical management of the society. This explains partly the reason why a large number of American political scientists felt free to actively participate in the political process in their capacity as advisers to decision-makers.

In a society dominated by a single ideology, the function of voting is extremely important, and, as has been pointed out above, behaviouristic political science has proved most effective in the analysis of voting behaviour pattern. This explains why behaviouristic political science enjoys such a wide currency among political scientists of the United States. In nearly all other countries, however, the analysis of voting behaviour has been accorded only a partial importance in political science analysis.

Political culture in Japan is quite different from American political culture in that conflicts over basic values and confrontation between different ideologies exist.

We feel strongly that objective conditions in respective countries do not warrant indiscriminate adoption of policy science and behaviouristic political science approach developed in the American context. (For an interesting elaboration of this point see S. Abe's rejoinder in "L'esprit d'oujourd'hui", June 1977)

[92] Tables 4-7 are drawn up by the authors from the data collected from the major Japanese universities where teaching is conducted in political science.

REFERENCE

The following sources have been used as basic reference. The authors, however, have granted themselves the privilege of independent interpretation in some instances when deemed necessary. Therefore, any mistakes that may be found in the report are the responsibility of the authors alone.

"Politics and Political Science in the Post-War Japan" by T. Ishida

"Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics" by M. Maruyama

"Analysis of Political Attitude" by J. Kyogoku

"Condition of Contemporary Politics" by K. Matsushita

"Political Science for Peace" by H. Seki in the *Annals of the Japan Political Science Association.*

"Development of Modern Political Science in Japan" by M. Royama

"Social Sciences in Modern Japan and Waseda University" by Waseda University

"Peace Research" by S. Takayanagi in *International Politics.*

THREE

REPUBLIC OF KOREA: *Juneil Clarence Ryee*

I. INTRODUCTION

It is very difficult to survey the history and the development of political science in the Republic of Korea without considering the particular circumstances surrounding the birth and development of the discipline in the country.

It was not until 1945, when the country was liberated from the Japanese colonial rule, that the concern for the study and teaching of political science in a modern sense emerged in Korea, and the first political science department in the higher education was founded in August 1946. Ever since the birth of the discipline in 1946, political science, as well as political scientists, in Korea has been greatly affected by the socio-political changes in Korea. Consequently, it is necessary to indicate the nature of such changes whenever pertinent to establish an overview of the development of political science in this country.

The development of political science in Korea can be divided into three distinct periods: from 1945 to 1953, from 1954 to 1961, and from 1962 to 1979. The periodic division is not without arbitariness; but there are discernible changes in the major trends and concerns of the Korean political science in each period.

The three periods in the development of the Korean political science also correspond to the major political changes in Korea. And it is very hard to deny that the political changes exerted certain, if not decisive, influence on the development path of the discipline in Korea. It is not to say, however, that the three periods in the history of the Korean political science are by any means disjunctive: the contention is only that there are tendencies discernibly different in each period, and that there are noticeable shifts of emphasis and concern in the study of politics from one period to another.

II. THE STATE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE PRIOR TO 1945: THE EMBRYONIC PERIOD

As mentioned before, the birth of the discipline in Korea goes all the way back to 1945. For almost 70 years – from 1876 to 1945 – the study of politics in Korea had been in an embryonic stage, or perhaps in a dormant state. Two historical considerations help explain such unusually lengthy embryonic stage which the Korean political science had undergone.[1] One is the overwhelmingly powerful influence of Confucianism in all aspects of the lives of the Korean people for an extended period of time. As the official ideology of the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910), Confucianism prevailed in all aspects of the Korean society including academic activities. The dominant elites of the Yi Dynasty – the Confucian scholars – were the very back-bones of the traditional society, and it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to expect any political thinking or activity that even slightly transgressed the reigning Confucian *Weltanschauung*. Even when the Yi Dynasty was forced by external pressure to "open" itself to Japan and the world beyond in 1876, thereby exposing the traditional society to the foreign influence from the Western civilization, most of the ruling elites of the Korean society, rather than taking a receptive posture, clung to the old *Weltanschauung*, and failed in constructively reconciling the old with the new, the endogenous with the foreign.[2] One result of this was, needless to say, the delayed "birth" of modern political science in Korea.

Another historical consideration which hindered the "birth" of modern political science in Korea is the Japanese colonial rule, which lasted almost more than 35 years from 1910. Under the Japanese rule, all kinds of political activity for the Korean people were severely repressed, which, of course, was a part of the colonial policy. During the 35 years since 1910, therefore, the Japanese colonial domination over Korea played a decisive role in forcing the Korean political science to remain in a dormant state. It must be noted, however, that there were, in this period, a few separate attempts in studying Korean history – especially, the history of Korean politics and international relations – by a couple of nationalistic historians.[3] Another thing to be noted during this period is that various Western political ideologies influenced the Korean intellectuals, especially after the World War I. Liberal ideology in the form of the Wilsonian doctrine of self-determination and the socialist ideology from the newly established Soviet Russia were outstanding examples. These ideologies tended to encourage the nationalistic aspirations and sentiments among the Korean intellectuals.[4]

Finally, during this period, there were a few privileged youth who had the opportunity to receive higher education in arts and sciences, mostly in the colleges and universities in Japan. Some of them introduced German *Staatwissenschaft* to the academia in Korea. In other words, Japan imported the "study of the state" from Germany and exported it to Korea. Though imported through Japan, the *Staatswissenschaft* of Germany had considerable influence among some Korean intellectuals. Yet, the genuine study of a modern political science was not initiated in Korea. Thus, internal and external factors and reasons – Confucianism and the Japanese colonial domination – played major roles in keeping the Korean political science in a lengthy dormant state.

III. THE FIRST PERIOD (1945-1953) : THE GERMINATING PERIOD

The period of 1945-1953, which may be said to constitute the germinating period for the Korean political science, was a period in which many radical changes occurred in the Korean society. The liberation from the Japanese domination in 1945 was immediately followed by the intense ideological conflicts between the right and the left wings. It was in the midst of the socio-political turmoil that the two separate governments were established in the South and the North Koreas in 1948, each claiming legitimacy of its own. Only two years later, the Korean war broke out on June 25, 1950. It was not until 1953 when the South Korean government, which had been forced to move its headquarters to Pusan, could return back to Seoul. The major trends and tendencies in political science during this period could be characterized by the following considerations:

(1) The intellectual leaders in political science during this period were in large measure the products of Japanese higher education.[5] Since the Japanese political science had considered the study of politics only as a marginal part of the "study of the state" and jurisprudence, the tendency of legalistic and traditional approaches in political science were rather faithfully reflected in the academic activities of the forerunners of the Korean political science in this period. As Japanese political science in its early stage was heavily influenced by the German scholarship, so was the Korean political science heavily influenced by the Japanese approaches to the study of politics. In particular, the specialists in public laws – constitutional law, administrative law, and international law – played a major role in the teaching of political science in this period. Historians – especially the experts in political history and diplomatic history – contributed their share in the development of the Korean political science in this period. This was the period in which public law specialists and historians, rather than political scientists proper, assumed the intellectual leadership in the discipline, and the heavy influences of the Japanese political science were manifest in the political science curricula in the colleges and universities.[6]

(2) During the Japanese colonial rule, there were only few professional schools and only one university in Korea, with the Japanese scholars occupying most of the teaching positions. With the liberation of the country, the Japanese scholars departed from Korea, along with all other Japanese who had been in Korea, and the institutions of higher education in Korea now had to be filled and led by all Korean scholars. At the same time, a number of private colleges and universities were founded following the liberation of the country. The Seoul National University was established in August, 1946, in accordance with the *National University Plan* issued by the U.S. Military Government as part of the higher education policy in the new nation. A department of political science was established in its College of Liberal Arts and Sciences in August, 1946. Concurrently, in the same year, the Bosung Professional School and the Yonsei Professional School were upgraded to Korea University and Yonsei University, respectively, and the newly established universities added two more departments of political science. Proliferation of political science departments also extended to woman's colleges and universities, as Ewha Woman's College and Sukmyong Woman's College added two more departments of political science in 1950 and 1952, respectively.

Major difficulties which Korean political science faced in this period included the lack of sufficient number of qualified political scientists for teaching and research, the problem of formulating political science curricula, in the face of the obviously inadequate teaching facilities, and the problem of securing bibliographic materials for teaching and research.[7] In many political science departments, consequently, academic backgrounds and orientations of the faculty were the decisive factors in determining the real contents of the curricula. Courses in public law, economics, and history tended to predominate in the political science curricula. Among the political science courses proper, emphasis was usually placed on political thought and political philosophy. For instance, courses in the "the theories of sovereignty" and "the theories of the state" constituted core areas of study in the discipline. Historical approaches to political institutions and political ideology were also part of the trends in this period. Graduate courses in political science did exist in some universities but, due to the shortage of qualified teachers, the graduate schools in this period remained in large measure rather nominal.[8]

(3) Korean political science in this period found it extremely difficult to remain entirely unaffected by the intense ideological conflicts that plagued the entire society. All the major issues – unification, nature of government to be established, etc. – inevitably entailed intense ideological conflicts among the various political inclinations ranging from the extreme right to the radical left. The Korean political scientists in this period were in fact very much involved in the "pros" and "cons" of the various ideologies, and much of their works in this period were of the kind that explicated and propagated the various political "isms".[9] During the period 1948-53, however, the general ideological consensus among the Korean political scientists gradually emerged, and it was inclined toward Liberal Democracy. Needless to say, the Korean war only worsened the conditions for a healthy development of political science in Korea. Under the extremely adverse circumstances, each political scientist had to do his best in teaching and research.

(4) Toward the end of 1953, some 20 leading political scientists had a meeting at the provisional campus of the Seoul National University in Pusan, and resolved to establish a scholarly association for the Korean political scientists. The Korean Political Science Association (KPSA) was thus founded in October, 1953.[10] The Association remained in name only for the next three years, without producing any visible academic activities or works. Even so, the KPSA did perform at least a symbolic function, proclaiming to the outside world that the Korean political scientists were now united in an independent academic discipline. Furthermore, it cannot be denied that the Association did in a small way provide a channel for the exchange of ideas and academic co-operation among the Korean political scientists.

(5) The participation of the UN Forces in the Korean war had an unanticipated consequence of awakening interests in the international politics among the Korean political scientists.[11] But there were not yet any regular courses in the field of international politics offered in political science departments, and it was not until in the late 1950s when the Korean political scientists began to engage in serious researches in international relations.

IV. THE SECOND PERIOD (1954-1961) : THE PERIOD OF INITIAL GROWTH

As the armistice agreement was concluded in 1953, the Korean government returned back to Seoul from its provisional location in Pusan for the previous three years. With the suspension of hostilities, everything seemed to be returning to normalcy. Political instability, however, was on the increase, due to the mounting distrust among people of the Syngman Rhee regime and the rampant corruption in the party in power. What subsequently followed was the overthrow of the Syngman Rhee regime by the students in April, 1960, giving birth to the Second Republic in Korea. A military coup d'etat a year later put an end to the short-lived Second Republic. For Korean political science, however, the 1954-1961 period was one of rapid initial growth and development.

(1) This period marked considerable growth in the number of political scientists and teachers in the political science departments. A considerable number of

people who had their undergraduate training in the Japanese universities received graduate degrees from the various Korean universities in the years 1949-1950. And, in the years 1953-1956, the Korean universities began to produce a number of graduate-degree holders whose educational backgrounds were purely "Korean". These people gradually came to occupy the teaching positions in the various political science departments, with the consequence that the average age of the political science teachers in Korea became quite young.[12] Yet, the general academic trends dominant in the previous period tended to continue through the late 1950s.

(2) Along with the increase in the number of political scientists, there was also in this period an increase in the number of fields of study within the discipline such as international organizations and international politics. New courses on comparative government and politics were also initiated in this period. The most remarkable development would be the introduction of public administration. Instrumental to the introduction of public administration was the scholarly exchange programmes which had been established between SNU and the University of Minnesota, during the years 1957-1958. As an immediate outcome of the programmes, a graduate school of public administration was founded in SNU in 1959. It helped greatly enhance the quality of graduate studies in general and introduce the empirically-oriented approaches to the study of politics in particular. In the same period, a number of original works and translations of foreign works were published on political parties, parliamentary institutions, and political processes.[13] In teaching political science, the emphasis was still centered on the undergraduate training. The graduate schools were yet weak and few in number, but the number of graduate enrolment steadily grew especially after 1957.

(3) This period also witnessed a rapid increase in the volume of publications. Some 305 books – original works and translations – were published during the years 1945-1955. Of the 305, some 52% were published in 1954-1955, compared with 28% in 1953.[14] After 1955, the rate of growth in the volume of publication did not slow down as almost every university and college decided to publish its own journal in the fields of the social sciences.[15] At the same time, quite a few popular monthly magazines continued to carry articles and essays written by political scientists, which were widely read among the college students and the intellectuals in general.[16]

In terms of methodologies and approaches, the traditional orientations still predominated in this period as before. But in the books published – especially those dealing with introductory materials – there was a noticeable concern with the definitions, scope and methodology of political science. This contrasted with the tendencies in the previous periods, in which political ideologies were the main concern for the political scientists. A concern for a systematic, scientific political science was slowly emerging in this period. Among the widely read foreign books one finds the works by Harold J. Laski, Charles E. Merriam and Robert M. MacIver, etc.[17] Laski's works in particular were widely read and taught. All of these undoubtedly contributed to laying the foundations for the development of modern political science in Korea. Toward the end of this period, American behavioural political science was introduced to Korean political science. At the first annual meeting of the Korean Political Science Association, held in December, 1958, a report was read on American behaviouralism in political science.[18] The first issue of the official journal of the KPSA, "Political Science" was published in 1959, which carried an article entitled, "The Role of Behavioralism." It was around this time that Harold D. Lasswell's works were translated and introduced.

(4) Both the Korean Association of International Relations and the Korean Association of Public Administration were established in 1956. No significant academic activities took place, however, in these associations until 1963. The membership of these three associations – the KPSA, the KAIR and the KAPA – was in large measure overlapping.

(5) Up until 1960, when the Syngman Rhee regime was overthrown by the students' uprising, the political scientists' posture toward the government was one of detached criticism. Numerous essays and articles were written by political scientists explicating the basic principles of liberal democracy. The government and the party in power, however, did not attempt much to restrict and regulate the academic freedom on the university campuses in the country.

V. THE THIRD PERIOD (1962 TO 1979) : THE PERIOD OF RAPID GROWTH

The period of military rule that followed the May 16th Military Revolution, which had brought the Second Republic to an end, came to an end itself when power was turned over to a civilian government establishing the Third Republic. These events, as well as the proclamation of the *Yushin* Reforms on October 17, 1973, formed the background for the development of Korean political science during this period. There was a searching effort to bring about the full maturation of political science. The discipline reflected the momentous social, economic, political and cultural changes which occurred in these years. On the other hand, there was a great deal of ferment within the field itself as well since the fruits of political science research in the West, particularly in the U.S., were introduced into Korea at an accelerating pace during this period. Some epochal achievements were made during these years contributing significantly to the maturation of Korean political science. It may be argued on the basis of such development that the field was transformed both in qualitative and quantitative terms.[19] The following is a more detailed discussion of these major changes.

(1) The number of political scientists increased greatly during this period. There were 165 professors of political science and public administration in 1965 but substantially more than twice this number of political scientists in 1979. Some 462 names appeared on the Korean Political Science Association's membership roster published in the same year. Of these, some 420 held teaching positions in colleges or universities.[20] This figure alone reflects an almost three times increase over 1965. An important factor for this growth was the expansion and increase in the number of departments of public administration.

The members of the Association holding the Ph.D. also increased during this period. There was scarcely more than a handful of such persons in 1965 while 170 members had this qualification ten years later. Thus in 1975 forty-five per cent of the entire membership of the Korean Political Science Association held the Ph.D. Breaking this down by sources: 101 had been awarded by Korean universities; 50 by U.S. universities; 8 by West German and Austrian universities; 3 by Japanese universities; and one each by British and French universities. In other words some twenty-seven per cent of the Association's membership in 1975 held the Ph.D. from the Korean Universities and thirteen per cent from the U.S. universities.[21] It should be noted, however, that there was a sudden increase in the number of holders of the Ph.D. from the Korean universities in 1974, the final deadline set for the screening of dissertations for doctoral degrees awarded under the old system.

The breakdown of the sub-fields of Korean political science in 1965 by percentage of specialists was as follows; international politics (18%) ; public administration (17%) ; political science theory (15%) ; political processes (15%) ; comparative politics (12%) ; political history (9%) ; Korean politics (7%) ; and public law (7%).[22] In 1974 the ranking of public administration and political science theory was reversed as was that of political processes and comparative politics. Hence, despite the increase in the number of political scientists, the constellation of interests remained much the same. Of special interest is the fact that the sub-field of Korean politics remained at the bottom of the list. Moreover the number of political scientists claiming this specialty decreased from eleven to eight over this decade.[23] This lack of enthusiasm for the study of Korean politics stands in sharp contrast with the situation in the U.S. where the majority of political scientists devote themselves to the study of American political processes. One can only suppose that there were many factors which obstructed the expression of interest in domestic politics on the part of Korean political scientists.

(2) The curricula of political science departments gradually grew in scope and diversity. In the same way research activities have become broader both in terms of the topic pursued and the geographical coverage. Further, with a growing interest in political processes, as opposed to institutions and structures, political scientists began lecturing on topics such as public policy, decision-making, public opinion, propaganda, political psychology, and political sociology. This marked a major change from the days when lectures on political parties and parliamentarianism were predominant. More interest was shown in methodology and area studies. It was reflected in the growing number of courses on methodologies of political science, systematic political science, political science theory, political theory of developing countries and the political characteristics of the major regions of the world. Area studies typically cover Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa as well as communist bloc nations including Communist China and the Soviet Union. In fact, courses mushroomed to the point where serious difficulties began to arise in the drawing up of curricula. There was a growing feeling that some consolidations must take place perhaps in the format of a model curriculum.

College education became popular and widespread over the last decade or so. Graduate programmes in international relations and political science as well as public administration were created. As a result, Master's theses in political science and public administration appeared in great numbers in recent years and Ph.D. dissertations under the new system began appearing around 1971. The critical assessment of the content and effectiveness of graduate education thus became an issue within the field.

(3) The increased concern with methodology led to heightened awareness of the

demands for empiricism and more empirical researches. As the traditional approaches were gradually replaced by the new empirical approaches, the works and textbooks by Lasswell, Easton, Deutsch, Eulau, etc., came to occupy a central place, replacing those by Laski, MacIver, Merriam, etc., in the previous periods. With the introduction of American behavioural political science, the behaviourally-oriented political scientists in Korea gained considerable prestige in the discipline. The introduction of American behavioural political science had many significant impacts on Korean political science in arousing general interest in the "scientific" study of politics, as well as in broadening the scope of inquiry for the political scientists. It must be noted, however, that behavioural political science was not received without certain resistance among some political scientists in Korea.

Political scientists became more and more specialized during this period. The field, and even the sub-fields, was divided into as many specialized areas as would seem to be possible and yet this trend appeared likely to continue. The last decade saw an increased interest in problem-oriented research focused on issues such as modernization, national security, the reunification of Korea and the North-South gap. Finally, an interest grew also in international relations, comparative politics, and specialized area studies.

Also, in this period, the concern with Western democracy declined considerably, while stronger interests were now centered around nationalism, in the developing countries in particular. The issue of "Koreanization" of the discipline also arose toward the end of the 1970s. It provided a stimulus for researches in Korean political history, government and politics. At the same time, "Koreanization" attempt had significant impacts on the study of political theory, public administration and international relations. Nevertheless, "Koreanization" remained an aspiration rather than a reality.

Political scientists received research grants awarded by various foundations and by the Ministry of Education. These funds encouraged the growth of research activities, especially field surveys. The grants were awarded to political scientists by the foundations supported by major industries such as the Vocational Training Assistance Foundation and Samsong Cultural Foundation. The number of recipients was, however, extremely limited and the funds were not usually sufficient to cover the costs of field surveys. The Ministry of Education's grants are about the same as those awarded by private foundations in terms of amounts and grant periods. These funds have been made available since the late 1960s. In addition to supporting and stimulating individual research, the Ministry promoted the establishment of political science research institutes at most universities without much consideration about individual cases and circumstances. In the same way, the Korean Unification Board provided funds to many academic institutions to enable them to establish research institutes devoted to studying the problems of national security and national reunification.

(4) The Korean Political Science Association has been rather active in academic activities since the latter half of the 1960s. Ever since 1966, an annual seminar on a given theme has been regularized and, in addition, monthly seminars have been regularly held since 1968. *The Korean Political Science Review (KPSR),*

which had been only intermittently published (Volume 1 in 1959, Volume 2 in 1967, Volume 3 in 1969, Volume 4 in 1970), has become a regular publication since 1970. The official journals of the Korean Association of International Relations and the Korean Association of Public Administration have been regularly published since 1963 and 1967, respectively. Due to the increase in membership of the KPSA, the Association organized its local chapters in the 1970s. Local chapters in Pusan, Taegu, Kwangu, were organized in 1970, 1971 and 1974, respectively.

Interest in international scholarly exchanges increased appreciably within the Korean Political Science Association during this period. As a result, the Association became a member of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) in September 1967 and delegates were sent to the Eighth General Meeting of the IPSA held in Munich, West Germany that year. Delegates were sent again in 1973, 1976, and 1979 when the IPSA Congress was held in Montreal, London and Moscow.

Another noteworthy occasion along these lines was the First Joint Conference of the Korean Political Science Association and the Association of Korean Political Scientists in North America held in Seoul between June 9-12 in 1975. The Second Joint Conference was held in 1977 in Seoul, and subsequent meetings were held in Seoul every other year.

Finally, in this period, the Association also sponsored a considerable number of valuable publications. Apart from the Journal, two titles were brought out in 1965; one of these was a book entitled *Modern Political Science* and the other, a collection of articles in English entitled *Readings in Political Science.* In 1971, a compilation of papers by twenty-six Korean political scientists was published by the Association under the title *The Theory of Democracy.* A major project in which nearly every political scientist in Korea had a part was the *Dictionary of Political Science* which was compiled between 1973 and 1975, and published in December, 1975.

Meanwhile, in 1974, an update of the collection of articles in English was brought out under the new title of *Readings in Contemporary Political Science.* This book contributed, towards the diffusion of the work of contemporary American political scientists in Korea. In addition to these publication activities, the Association formed a committee to deal with the curricula problems mentioned earlier. The curricula then in use in colleges and universities across the country were collected, analyzed, and evaluated with the idea of drawing up a model curriculum.

(5) Another noteworthy trend was that a few political scientists made an exit from the academia to occupy high positions in the government and the seats in the National Congress. A number of practising political scientists continued to maintain close contacts with the party in power in their advisory capacities. Several political scientists were appointed to the seats in the National Congress (a system under the *Yushin* Reform between 1973 and 1979), and a handful of political scientists were appointed to positions in the Blue House (Special assistants, counsellors to the President, etc.). In other words, there was active interest in practical politics and administration.

It must also be noted, however, that since the Emergency Measures proclaimed under the Yushin system – which drastically limit the freedom of expression – political scientists had been practically prohibited from any cirticisms of the government and its policies. As a consequence, studies on "national security" "national unification", "communist countries," etc., tended to attract little interest of the political scientists.

VI. THE PRESENT STATE

Although political science in Korea is around 40 years old, the rate of growth and development of the discipline has been rather remarkable. Statistics show that, during the 1945-1972 period, some 16,829 political scientists produced 150,837 books and articles. It is not a small figure, considering the general size of the country. The rapid socio-political changes in Korean society during the past 40 years are a factor for the rapid growth and expansion of the discipline. For good or worse, the political scientists in Korea have had ample political experience, and the abundance of such political experience is perhaps reflected in the rate of growth of the discipline.

However, it was only after the second half of the 1960s that Korean political science began to develop substantially both in terms of quantity and quality. Contributive to this development was the heavy impact of American behavioural political science. Unfortunately, however, in the process of incorporating American behavioural political science, there was a tendency for the empirical researches in Korea to be isolated from the democratic ideals, or political philosophy, which was the foundation of empiricism in America.

1. Model Curriculum

In 1981, the Ministry of Education organized curriculum workshop for model curricula in literary and social science fields.

For the teaching of political science, professor Yun, Kun-Shik, then president of the Korean Political Science Association, conducted the survey and discussion on the model curriculum.

First, eight major universities were chosen to compare their curricula. The eight major universities are; Korea University, Kyung-hee University, Dong-A University, Seoul National University, Sunggyungwan University, Yonsei University, Chosun University, and Ewha University. The curricula of these universities had four major fields:

(A) Korean Politics

(B) Political Theory (including Political Philosophy, and Methodology)

(C) International Relations

(D) Comparative Politics.

The major contents of each field include:

(A) Korean Politics

(1) Korean Politics
(2) Politics in North Korea
(3) Korean Democracy

(B) Political Theory

(1) Political Philosophy – Introduction
(2) Theory of Political Power
(3) Contemporary Political Philosophy of Korea
(4) Ancient Western Political Philosophy
(5) Modern Western Political Philosophy
(6) Contemporary Western Political Philosophy
(7) History of Oriental Political Philosophy
(8) Political Philosophy
(9) Modern Political Theory

(C) International Relations

(1) International Political Economy
(2) Foreign Policy
(3) Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China
(4) International Organizations
(5) U.S. Foreign Policy
(6) International Relations in northeast Asia

(D) Comparative Politics

(1) Comparative Politics
(2) Political Process
(3) Political Analysis
(4) Democratic Political System
(5) Public Opinion and Political Culture
(6) Totalitarian Political System
(7) Political Development
(8) Western Political System
(9) Area Studies
(10) American Government and Politics
(11) Election
(12) Politics of Mass Society
(13) Asian Politics

(14) Political Parties
(15) Politics of Developing Countries
(16) Politics of Communist Countries

2. Other major courses

(1) History of Korean Politics
(2) Public Administration
(3) Public Policy

After a long and serious discussion among the leading political scientists, the Korean Political Science Association formulated following model curriculum for the political science departments in Korea, which is widely accepted in Korea.

3. Foundation Courses (3 credit hours each)

(1) Introduction to Law
(2) Introduction to Economics
(3) Introduction to Political Science

4. Required Courses (3 credit hours each)

(1) Korean Politics
(2) History of Western political Philosophy
(3) Comparative Politics
(4) International Relations

5. Elective Courses (3 credit hours each)

(1) History of Oriental Political Philosophy (including History of Korean Political Philosophy)
(2) History of International Relations of Western Hemisphere (Europe and America)
(3) Foreign Policy
(4) Public Administration
(5) Political Process
(6) Modern Political Theory
(7) Politics of Communist Bloc
(8) History of Korean Politics
(9) Korean Economy
(10) Politics of European Countries
(11) Research Methods in Political Science
(12) Social Survey.

(13) Special Lectures on Political Philosophy
(14) International Political Economy
(15) Foreign Policies of Major Powers (China, U.S., Japan, Soviet Russia)
(16) International Organizations
(17) International Law
(18) Election and Political Party
(19) Politics of the Third World
(20) Introduction to Sociology
(21) Social Psychology

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FOUR

THAILAND: *Sombat Chantornvong*
Chulacheeb Chinawanno

I. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE DISCIPLINE

To clearly understand the development of political science in Thailand, it is necessary that one first understands the history of modern education of the country. This is because the reason for the first stage of development of political science in Thailand is also the very one which originally called for the modernization of the whole educational system. To be more specific, the birth of political science as a discipline of study was closely linked to the demands and needs of the government of the time and this past legacy, as it will be shown later on, still determines, to a great extent, the outlook of the discipline as it is today.

To begin with, higher education in Thailand, especially a study of government or the art of ruling, had been traditionally confined to members of the royal family and higher ranking officials. Besides, there was no formal school which systematically instructed or trained these selected few in the art. Of course, children of the royal family could learn from their elders but it was mainly through their actual experience in government that they and those who worked for them managed to gain knowledge about government affairs and administration. Then, in the second half of the 19th century as the threat of western colonialism escalated, Thailand began to move toward modernization. In its attempt to modernize the country, the Thai government found, however, an acute shortage of qualified people to fill the ranks of its newly enlarged civil service. Recognizing the immediate need and also the need for an expanded educational programme, King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) in 1899 founded the Civil Service School. At that time the idea was to produce competent administrators to serve in the Ministry of Interior. The three year programme of study included subjects like clerical works, Royal Pages' duties, and apprenticeship in various government departments. In 1902 the Civil Service School was reorganized and became the Royal Pages' School. A few other schools were also established in other governmental agencies to train people from their relative needs. Yet, almost all students who attended these schools were children of the royal family or of higher ranking civil officials. Then in 1910 in an attempt to produce qualified personnel to serve in the other sections of public service as well, King Chulalongkorn expanded the Royal Pages' school and renamed it the Civil Service College.

In a sense, this Civil Service College could be said to be the first true institution of higher education in Thailand since it offered a variety of programmes of study including, for example, engineering, medical sciences, agriculture and public administration. The students of public administration (*Rattaprasasanasuksa* in Thai) were then required to study subjects like Thai, English, History, Geography, Thai

Administrative System, Administrative law, Law, Mapping, Public Health, Military Science. In 1916 King Vachiravudh (Rama VI) upgraded the Civil Service College to university status and renamed it Chulalongkorn University after his father. The Faculty of Public Administration (*Kana Rathaprasas* in Thai) was among the first of the University's main faculties. Since the goal of King Vachiravudh was to provide his people with a general education with emphasis on training in government administration, the curriculum of the Faculty of Public Administration at Chulalongkorn University, which was then composed of the department of public administration and the department of revenue, did not differ in nature from that of the School of Public Administration of the old Civil Service College. The subjects taught were mostly those dealing with working methods, rules, regulation of government and clerical works.

After the overthrow of the absolute monarchy in 1932, the civilian leader of the ruling Revolutionary People's Party founded in 1933 a new university – the University of Moral Science and Politics (Thammasat University). Meanwhile, the Faculty of Public Administration at Chulalongkorn University became the Faculty of Political Science and Law as the Law School of the Ministry of Justice was incorporated into the University. Nevertheless, it should be noted that while the word "political science" (*Rattasat* in Thai) was used here, it has a markedly different connotation from the western sense. The word "political science" in the Thai sense which came to be used officially for the first time in 1932, was in essence no different from the word public administration.[1] The Faculty of Political Science and Law at Chulalongkorn University operated for only one year, however. In 1934, it was transferred to the newly founded University of Moral Science and Politics. While the main objective of the University of Moral Science and Politics was to educate the Thai People in democracy[5] and politics, the university curriculum at all levels had very little to do with politics. Most of the courses offered were confined to law, like constitutional law, election law, administrative law. Non-legal courses were few. Moreover, legal and institutional approach was adopted in the study of legal and non-legal subjects alike. The new university turned out, in fact, to be just another civil service training school with special emphasis on producing professional lawyers to serve in various government departments and agencies.

Such could probably be described as the first stage of the development of political science as a discipline in Thailand. It was the time when the subject matter of political science and public administration were more or less the same. Most university lecturers who taught "political science" during this early period were trained in law and received their education from European countries, such as, France, England. Most of the textbooks available were, therefore, dominated by the institutional and legal approach. Besides, the universities had very few teachers of their own. Most of those who taught or wrote "political science" textbooks at that time were outside lecturers, who normally functioned as lawyers and administrators in various ministries and departments.[2] Hence, there existed a direct link between the basic philosophy and objective of education in "political science" of the first period and the civil bureaucracy itself.

In 1948, the Faculty of Political Science was reestablished at Chulalongkorn University. Although the word "political science" (*Rattasat* in Thai) now completely took over the place of the word "Public Administration" (*Rattaprasas* in Thai) as the name of the Faculty, and the University formally granted degree in political science, yet there was no real programme in political science, at least not by our present standard. The main objective of the newly founded Faculty remained, as always, that of producing public-spirited and competent administrators to serve in the bureaucracy. During the period of 1948-50, in particular, the emphasis of the study was evidently to prepare young men to serve as junior district officers in the Ministry of Interior.[3] Hence courses offered were limited to Administrative Law, Mapping and Surveying, Self-defense Practice, Secretarial Work and the Like. (See Table 1) In 1949, the Faculty of Political Science was established at Thammasat University with the very same objective.[4] Thus, the Thais, those who studied political science or *Rattasat* (which may be translated as "the science of the state") did not study politics. Political science graduates were the ones who had been trained to do the duty of *pokkrong* which may be literally translated as "to protect, take care, oversee and control".[5]

In 1951, the Faculty of Political Science at Chulalongkorn University underwent its first in the series of curriculum revisions. The Faculty now offered bachelor's degrees in political science and in Law. The political science degree itself was broken down into three major fields, namely, *Pokkrong* (general administration), foreign affairs, and public finance. Yet, this division reflected rather an attempt on the part of the Faculty to organize its curriculum so that it could better train its students to meet specific requirements of specific government departments or ministries. During this period, political science students often regarded their four years of study as the preparation for a career in the government service either with the Ministry of Interior or with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The political situation immediately before and after World War II, however, had forced Thailand to move politically closer to the United States than ever. As a result, the two countries began to co-operate in many areas of cultural exchanges. By the middle of the 1950s, the first batch of Thai students who went to the United States for their graduate studies had returned. The second stage of the development of political science as a discipline could be said to begin some time during these years when the new breed of political scientists (mostly American trained plus a few European trained) joined the teaching staff of both the universities; formerly the staff consisted mostly of those who were trained in law from the continent. Therefore, political science curriculum during this transitional period contained both traditional courses like Criminal Law, Administrative Law, Clerical Works and courses which truly belonged to the political science proper like Comparative Politics, Western Political Thought, International Relations. Political science students continued to be trained in practical knowledge necessary for their career in the civil services, but they were also required to take courses of which the content reflected the development of political science of the period.

Formally at least, the late 50s and the 60s saw political science in Thailand move closer towards the present state. In fact, the recognition that public administration should be set as a separate field of study apart from political science took place as early as 1955 when Thammasat University, with the technical assistance from Indiana University, established the Institute of Public Administration[6] (*Kaṇa*

Table 1. Development of Political Science Curriculum of the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University.

Year	*Institution*	*Selected list of courses offered*
1899	Civil Service School.	1. Clerical Works. 2. Court Manners. 3. Practices of Government.
1902	Royal Pages' School	1. Clerical Works. 2. Court Manners. 3. Practices of Government. 4. Geography and History. 5. Mathematics. 6. Languages (Thai-English-Pali) 7. Ethics.
1910	Civil Service College	1. Clerical Works. 2. Court Manners. 3. Practices of Government. 4. General Administration. 5. Law. 6. Languages (Thai-English)
1916	Chulalongkorn University (Faculty of Public Administration)	1. Languages (Thai-English) 2. General Administration. 3. Law. 4. Clerical Works. 5. Horse Riding, Boat-driving, Self-defense practising. 6. Ethics.
1948	Chulalongkorn University (Faculty of Political Science)	1. Government Administration. 2. Administrative Procedures in the Ministry of Interior. 3. Clerical Works. 4. Languages (Thai-English) 5. Civil Law, Criminal Law, Miscellaneous Law.

Source: The Subcommittee on Research Development in Political Science and Public Administration, *The Analytical Survey on Research in Political Science and Public Administration,* Vol. 1 Survey Report, Vol. I, 1980.

Rattaprasasansas in Thai), which offered a two year programme leading to the Master's degree in Public Administration. At the undergraduate level, the Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University established in 1959 the field of diplomacy as a separate field apart from that of political science. But this move, like the one taken earlier by the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University in 1951, was probably nothing more than an attempt to prepare political science students at Thammasat to adequately meet the specific requirements of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1966, the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, took a new step by offering a separate programme of study in public administration at the undergraduate level. Obviously, this setting up of a new major field of public administration was certainly an endeavour to provide political science students with necessary knowledge and skills needed for the career in the private sector and other government offices other than the Ministry of Interior or the Ministry of Foreign affairs; but it must have grown out of the academic need to separate the study of public administration from the traditional domain of political science or even *pokkrong*. Then in 1968 the study of political science at Thammasat University took a major step towards breaking with the past when it established both the Department of Public Administration and the Department of Political Studies. As opposed to the conventional view of political science, the new department of Political Studies, in particular announced that it would not "(emphasize) any specific subject matter linked to particular professional or administrative careers. The department's principal objective will be to prepare and produce graduates with academic background in political science and with capabilities in analysis and research in the various aspects of political science. An intellectual perspective of changing conditions in national and international affairs throughout the world will be fundamental . . . . ."[7] In short, "the ultimate purposes of the Department of Political Studies are to promote the study of Political Science in Thailand and to make such studies useful for both the academic and the practical needs of the country now and in the future."[8]

Hence in 1968 the Faculty of Political Science at Thammasat consisted of four departments: (1) the Department of Politics and Government (formerly the Department of Political Science or *Pokkrong*); (2) the Department of International Affairs (formerly the Department of Diplomacy); (3) the Department of Public Administration; and (4) the Department of Political Studies. But due to strong opposition from within and severe shortage of qualified personnel at the time, the new Department of Political Studies lasted only a few years. Yet, its demise in 1971 probably signified, rather ironically, the coming of age of modern political science in Thailand. For one thing, the Department of Political Studies was not abolished altogether, but was replaced by the new Department of Theory and Philosophy of Politics, which suggested, in a way, a move even further away from the traditional view of Political Science or *Pokkrong*. As a matter of fact, after 1971 the programme of study in Politics and Government (the traditional *Pokkrong* programme) has incorporated into its own programme most of the courses previously offered by the Department of Political Studies. (See Table 2) It is rather evident, therefore, that through the years the old *Pokkrong* concept of political science has lost much of its appeal. The general consensus among institutions which grant degree in political science today seems to be that the ability to investigate and analyze complicated and complex political and governmental problem is the quality needed by every political science graduate regardless of his preference for future career.[9]

The Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University also offers four separate programmes of study, namely, Government, International Relations, Public Administration, Sociology and Anthropology. That the Department of Sociology and Anthropology should be under the Faculty of Political Science here reflects, in a way, the legacy of the past development when the Faculty of Political Science, being for a long time the only faculty that taught social science subjects, incorporated within itself just about all disciplines in the field of social sciences. Hence it was not until 1971 that the Department of Public Finance of the Faculty of Political Science was incorporated into the Faculty of Economics (established 1970).

Similarly, it was not until 1972 that the Department of Law broke away from the Faculty of Political Science and became the Faculty of Law.

Table 2. General University Requirement for Political Science Students

Dept. of Pol. Studies 1968	*Dept. of Pol. & Govt. (Dept. of Pokkrong) 1968*	*Pol. & Govt. Study Programme 1971*
Required Courses	**Required Courses**	**Required Courses**
– Eng. I, II.	– Eng. I, II.	– Eng. I, II or Fr. I, II or Ger. I, II or Jap. I, II or Chi. I, II or Rus. I, II
– Thai I, II.	– Thai I, II.	– Thai I, II.
– Mathematics	– Math. or Man & Biol. Sci.	– Gen. Coll. Math. or Fund. Math.
– Comparative Religion	– Comp. Rel.	– Fund. of Philos. or Fund. of Rel. or Man & Lit. or Man: Arts & Music.
– Human Geography	– Human Geog.	– Man: Physiol. & Psychol. Basis of Man & Biol. Sci. or Life & Environment.
– Science	– Elem. Calculus or Dev. of Nat. Sci.	– Sci. & Soc. or Man & Phys. Sci. or Dev. of Nat. Sci.
– E. Civ.	– E. Civ.	– E. Civ.
– W. Civ.	– W. Civ.	– W. Civ.
– Sociology	– Soc.	– Man & Soc. or Fund. of Law or Soc. & Econ.
– Philosophy	– Philos.	– Soc. & Govt. – Thai Civ.

Today, apart from being offered as general and elective courses in several institutions of higher education, political science is also a major study programme at the following Universities: Chiangmai University (founded in 1965); Ramkamhaeng University (founded in 1971); Kasetsart University (the Department of Political Science and Public Administration was established in 1975); and starting in 1979 the Faculty of Management Science, Songkhla University has had a degree programme in Public Administration.[10] Unlike Chulalongkorn and Thammasat which officially grant degree in political science with specification of major programme of study, Chiangmai, Ramkamhaeng, and Kasetsart grant general Bachelor of Arts Degree with political science as a major subject. Nothing is officially said in the degree about the students' main concentration. Yet, political science students at these institutions have basically the same choices of areas of concentration with those at Chula and Thammasat. Nominally, there are eight major fields of study under political science now taught at universities in Thailand. (See Table 3.) Broadly speaking, however, one can conclude that the study of political science at the undergraduate level in

Table 3. Political Science Curriculum of the Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University 1968-1971

Dept. of Pol. Studies *1968*	*Dept. of Pol. & Govt.* *(Dept. of Pokkrong)* *1968*	*Pol. & Govt. Study Programme* *1971*
Required Courses	**Required Courses**	**Required Courses**
– Intro. to Pol. – U.S. Pol. – U.S.S.R. Pol. – Pol. Soc. – Econ. I, II – Internat Pol. I, II – Pol. of Modernizing Countries – Thai Soc. & Pol. – Eng. III, IV, V, VI – Soc. Psychol. – Hist. of Pol. Thought I, II – Contemp. Pol. Anal. – Pol. of W. Eur. Countries	– Principle of Pol. Sc. – Principle of Juris. – Const. Law – Adm. Law – Crim. Law – Internat. Law – Stat. – Population Prob. – Econ. I, II – Internat. Pol. – Principle of Pub. Management – Comp. Govt. I, II – Govt. & Pol. of Thailand – Eng. III, IV, V, VI – Soc. Psychol. – Hist. of Pol. Thought I, II – Research Methods in Pol. Sci. – Pol. Parties & Election – Crim. Law Procedure – Civ. & Comm. Code – Crim. – Pub. Fin. – Crim. Investigation & Exam. & Forensic medicine – Govt. Secretarial Practices. – Local Govt.	– Principle of Pol. Sc. – Pol. Hist. of Contemporary Thailand or Hist. of Adm. & Soc. Structure of Thailand or Gen. Psychol. or – Elem. Statistics or Stat. for Soc. Sc. – Intro. to Sociology or/Anthropology – Intro. to Economics – Internat. Relations – Principle of Pub. Adm. – Pol. Inst. & Const. Regime. – Thai Govt.
Elective (5 courses)	**Elective (1 course)**	**Concentration & Elective Courses offered by Dept. of Pol. & Govt.**
POLITICAL THEORY – Modern Pol. Thought – Dev. of Pol. Thought in Asia. – Pol. Philos. of any Spec. thinker or period – Theor. of democracy – Prob. of Pol. Philosophy POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY – Theor. & Concepts in Pol. Soc. – Pol. Stability & Change – Classes, Stratif. & p. in Pol. Commun. – Pol. Psychol. – Pub. op. & Pol. Behavior – Pol. Parties, Interest groups, Elections – Ideology & Society – Prob. of Pol. Modernization. – Spec. Prob. in Pol. Soc. COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT – Comp. Const. – Comp. Pol. Inst.	– Hist. of Pol. Thought II – Internat. Org. – Mass Media & Pub. Rela. – Commun. Dev. – Lab. Management. – Comp. Const. *****	– Pol. Parties & Election – Parliamentary/Presidential system – Mach. of State. – Unitary & Fed. Syst. – Local Govt. – Const. Law – Adm. Law – Seminar on Prob. of Pol. & Govt. – Seminar: Survey of Pol. Lit. – Readings in Pol. & Govt. – Directed Indiv. Research in Pol. & Govt. – Intro. to Comp. Studies of Pol. – Relationship bet. Exec. & Leg. – Leg. Functions & Procedures. – Pol. & Govt. of Japan – Pol. & Govt. of China – Pol. & Govt. of N. Europe – Pol. & Govt. of E. Europe – Pol. & Govt. of W.Europe – Pol. & Govt. of S.E. Asia

Table 3. *(continued)*

Dept. of Pol. Studies *1968*	*(Dept. of Pokkrong)* *1968*	*Pol. & Govt. Study Programme* *1971*
– Comp. Adm. Inst.		– Pol. & Govt. of Mid. East
– Comp. Loc. Govt.		– Pol. & Govt. of Aust. & New Zealand.
– Parl. Syst.		
– Federalism.		– Pol. & Govt. of S.U.
AREA STUDIES		– Pol. & Govt. of U.S.A.
– Chi., Jap., Korea.		
– Ind., Pak., Sri Lanka		
– S.E. Asia		
– Africa.		
– Mid. East		
– Latin America.		
– N. Europe		
– E. Europe		
THAI STUDIES		
– Thai Soc. & Pol. Hist.		
– Dev. of Thai Pol. Thought.		
– Gov. & Econ.		
– Rural Aspects of Thai Pol.		
– Thai Bureaucracy & Pol.		
– The Chinese in Thailand.		
– Regional Prob (esp. N.E. & Sth.)		
– Other Spec. Prob. of Thai Soc. & Pol.		

Sources: Undergraduate Bulletin, Thammasat University, 1968 Undergraduate Bulletin, Department of Political Studies, Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University, 1968 Undergraduate Bulletin, Thammasat University, 1971

Thailand covers the fields of Government (and Politics), International Relations, and Public Administration. At least, these three are the fields accepted by all institutions as constituting the very subject matter of political science.[11] Evidently, the field of Government here also includes those courses listed under the field of Theory and Philosophy in Politics at Thammasat and the field of local Government at Kasetsart. The Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, for example, subdivides the field of Government further into Political Theory and Philosophy, Comparative Government, Thai Government and Politics, Political Processes and Behaviour, and Public Law. The field of Public Administration at Chulalongkorn is likewise broken down into Public Finance Administration and Personnel Administration. Hence, only the fields of Law (at Chiangmai), Justice System (at Kasetsart), and Sociology and Anthropology (at Chulalongkorn) appear to be beyond the general scope of political science proper.

Post graduate study in Political Science in Thailand has apparently developed along the same line with that of the undergraduate programme. Thus, graduate study programme (M.A.) in political science at Thammasat University which began as early as 1933 offered only two fields of study: Government (*Pokkrong*) and Diplomacy. And, as already noted, most courses offered were legal in nature. Topics of the M.A. thesis during this early period also reflected clearly the kind of subjects they studied. For example, the M.A. thesis of this early period included topics like "Basic Crime

Table 3. Fields of Study in Political Science and Number of Courses Offered in Each Field

Chulalongkorn Univ.	*Thammasat Univ.*	*Chiangmai Univ.*	*Ramkamhaeng Univ.*	*Kasetsart Univ.*
Govt. 49(1)	Govt. & Pol. 35	Govt. 18	Govt. 23	Govt. 15
International Relations 28(2)	International Affairs. 34(3)	International Relations 7	International Relations 19	International Relations 15
Pub. Adm. 45	Pub. Adm. 24	Pub. Adm. 9	Pub. Adm. 19	Pub. Adm. 13
Sociology Anthropology 39	Theory & Philosophy of Politics 25	Law 14		Local Govt. 9 J. System 15

(1) including 8 courses in Law and 1 course in Logic.
(2) excluding courses in foreign languages.
(3) including 9 courses in Law.

Sources: Undergraduate & Graduate Bulletin, 81/82 Thammasat University.
Undergraduate Bulletin, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University 1980-1981
Undergraduate Bulletin, Chiangmai University, 1980-1981
Undergraduate Bulletin, Ramkamhaeng University 1980-1981
Undergraduate Bulletin, Kasetsart University 1980-1981

Prevention Among Children and Juveniles", "Liquor Tax in Thailand," and "State's Sovereignty over the High Seas". The first revision of the graduate curriculum at Thammasat came in 1973 when the M.A. programme in public administration was also established. The latest revision of the curriculum at Thammasat took place in 1978. Now M.A. thesis topics include the ones like "Chinese Pressure Groups and Interest Groups and the Development of Democracy in Thailand", "Japan's Foreign Policy Implementation". Theoretically speaking, the study of political science in Thailand seems to have reached its full maturity in 1979 when the Graduate School of Chulalongkorn University, which has already offered M.A. programmes in Government and in International Relations, launched the new programme of Ph.D. in political science. Under this Ph.D. programme the following fields of specialization are offered: Political Theory and Methodology, Thai Government and Politics, Public Policy and Administration, Public Law, Comparative Politics, and International Relations. The major trend in the teaching of political science and the actual teaching will be treated in the next section.

II. MAJOR TRENDS IN TEACHING AND RESEARCH

1. Major Trends in Teaching

We have already noted in the first section that the systematic study of political science in Thailand took place some time during the late 50s as the growing number of young political science instructors returned from the United States with their advanced degrees and new orientation. Since then and especially in the late 60s through the 70s, the scope and content of political science in Thailand has gone through a series of major revisions. As the matter stands today, political science in Thailand basically consists of three major areas, namely, Government (and Politics), International Relations, and Public Administration. Needless to say, most of the courses now being offered under these three fields of political science bear little similarity to those of the early period.

It is quite apparent from the course offerings in the major universities that political science in Thailand has significantly transformed itself from the science (know-how) of government with its main emphasis on the practical use to the more scientific study of political matters. This shift could be attributed, in part, to the decrease in opportunities and positions traditionally opened to political science graduates. While being for a long time the only two institutions in the country that taught "political science", Chulalongkorn and Thammasat had formerly no difficulty limiting the number of their enrolment through the entrance examination process so that the number of political science graduates each year did not exceed the demands of their "patron" bureaucratic departments. But, with the founding of Chiangmai University in 1965 and especially that of Ramkamhaeng University, which is an "open" university, where any high school graduate can enrol in 1971, the number of political science graduates has naturally far exceeded the number of positions available in the government offices. This fact, together with the trend of political science in general to move away from legal and institutional approaches towards the scientific method of studying have made it very difficult for the conventional concept of political science to dominate.

Thus, contrary to the highly departmentalized system of the old days when political science instructors normally considered their training and teaching in political science as existing separately from other fields and disciplines, every political science student in Thailand today is required to have minimum knowledge in science, mathematics, sociology, philosophy, psychology, economics, and history. The nature of compulsory and concentration courses in major fields of political science reflects evident signs of changes towards more academic approach to the study of political science. For example, the common requirements of the Department of Government (the former Department of *Pokkrong*) of all universities today are : Principle of Political Science, Politics and Government of Thailand, and Constitutionalism. Political theory and Thai Local Government are also required courses at all universities (with the exception of Thammasat). In fact, Chulalongkorn, Chiangmai and Ramkamhaeng require their students to take at least not one but two courses in political theory. Introduction to Public Administration and Introduction to International Relations which do not properly belong to the field of Government are also required courses in Government for most institutions. Moreover, just about every institution (again with the exception of Thammasat) specifically requires its students to take Politics and Government of Southeast Asia, Politics and Government of the United States, United Kingdom and France, Politics and Government of the Communist countries. A number of courses offered under the Department of Government like Political Elites, Business and Politics, Political Psychology, Political

Behaviour, Collective Behaviour in Politics, also reflects further the growing interest and recognition by present day Thai political scientists of contribution to the study of political science made by other social science disciplines. Such a recognition is, in a way, already visible in the description of the Principle of Political Science at Thammasat which says from the very beginning that it is ". . . a study of the nature and principles of political science, and its relationship to other social sciences".[12] All in all "logical positivism" or behavioural approach to the study of politics seems to be clearly on the rise.[13] For example, Research Method in Political Science is now a required course at graduate level for Chulalongkorn as well as Thammasat. At the undergraduate level it is a required course at Chiangmai and Ramkamhaeng and is offered as an elective course in the Department of Government at Chulalongkorn and Kasetsart.

Nevertheless, it would be totally misleading to think that the study of political science in Thailand today is actually as "modern" or "Americanized" as the official bulletin would have us believe. For one thing, the discrepancy between the official curriculum and the reality of actual teaching is more often than not just too dangerously great. With reference to number of courses actually offered and courses listed in the official bulletin, the case of the Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University which on papers appears to be one of the most advanced institutions in terms of programmes of study will serve as an example. To begin with, while the Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University has launched a major programme of study in theory and philosophy of politics as early as 1971, the two most common courses in this field, i.e., History of Western Political Thoughts until Early Nineteenth Century and History of Western Political Thoughts from Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present have ironically never been offered since 1976! As a matter of fact, it seems rather strange, to say the least, that whereas all other institutions required their political science students majoring in Government to take 1-2 courses in political theory, the Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University, which, by virtue of its having a programme in theory and philosophy of politics, should be very prompt to appreciate the relevance of the subject, does not require its students majoring in Government to take any course of the same nature. In fact, even those students who plan to major in Theory and Philosophy of Politics are required to select only five courses offered by this Department. Now, a closer inspection of the courses offered under this Department (see Table 4) makes it possible to imagine a graduate in political science from Thammasat who formally majors in Theory and Philosophy of Politics and yet knows nothing or very little about Political Theory for he can choose to fulfill his requirement by taking courses like Elites and Social Power, Political Behaviour and Public Opinion, Politics of Developing Countries, Political Sociology, Social Change, The Military and Politics, all of which are listed under the Department of Theory and Philosophy of Politics.

Likewise, in the field of Government and International Politics none of the following courses have been offered at Thammasat for the past five years i.e., : relationship between executive and legislatures, legislative functions and procedures, politics and government of North Europe, East European affairs, International Principle of treaties, Seminar: United Nations Organization or international organizations and readings in international affairs. Undoubtedly, this sort of discrepancy

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Table 4. List of Courses offered by the Department of Theory and Philosophy of Politics, Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University.

1. Introduction to Political Philosophy.
2. Liberal Democratic and Constitutional Theories.
3. History of Western Political Thoughts.
4. History of Western Political Thoughts until Early Nineteenth Century.
5. History of Western Political Thoughts from Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present.
6. History of Eastern Political Thoughts.
7. Elite and Social Power.
8. Political Behaviour and Public Opinion.
9. Politics of Developing Countries.
10. The Origins and Development of Democratic Ideology.
11. Political Sociology.
12. Theories of the Nature of the Political Community.
13. Theories of the Nature of the Social and Political Changes.
14. Problems of Change and Political Development.
15. Social Change, the Military and Politics.
16. *Republic* of Plato.
17. Socialism and Totalitarianism.
18. Political Methodology.
19. Application of Political Theory.
20. Seminar : Eastern Political Thoughts.
21. Seminar : Social Conflicts and Social Movements.
22. Problems and Future of Political Sociology.
23. Seminar : Problems of Contemporary Political Theory.
24. Readings in Theory and Philosophy of Politics.
25. Directed Individual Research in Theory and Philosophy of Politics.

Source: Undergraduate Bulletin, Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University 1980-1981.

simply confirms the suspicion of some political scientists that an impressive course description or programme of study is often drawn up by copying *verbatim* from courses or programmes described in the bulletin of leading American universities.[14] A closer analysis reveals further that a curriculum is often designed to fit in with the availability of instructors and their special areas of interest.[15] This probably explains, for example, why the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, which offers the largest number of courses in this field when compared to other institutions, offers no course in theory in international politics, which are offered both at Thammasat and Kasetsart.

At any rate, it is clear that it is just not possible to judge the adequacy of the study programme by a mere look at the official prospectus. Much more important than the official programme of study is other factors associated with the actual teaching of political science. Foremost among these factors is the quality of the political science instructors themselves. In this connection, a recent study on the state of knowledge of political science in Thailand has suggested that while the logical positivism or behavioural approach to the study of polity has gained wide recognition among Thai political scientists, most political scientists themselves have not adequately mastered the theoretical ground of the behaviouralist schools. For instance, instead of using the cross-cultural approach to teach courses in comparative government, most Thai political science instructors conduct their courses as if they were teaching courses in area study programme.[16] The same study then concludes that Thai political science instructors lack basic knowledge in several fundamental areas. Most important of all, they have not yet grasped the new behavioural theoretical principles and they are unaware of the scope of the discipline since developed. Because they have no clear idea of how the body of knowledge in the discipline has evolved, nor do they keep up with current issues of research methodologies employed in various fields, their works naturally lack the necessary theory /research linkage and cannot possibly add any thing meaningful to the existing body of knowledge.[17] Furthermore, Thai political scientists in general pay very little attention to related fields within the same discipline. For example, despite the fact that Government and Public Administration are normally assumed to belong to the same discipline, those instructors who teach courses in Government have not given due attention to the role of the bureaucracy. Meanwhile, those who teach Public Administration tend to neglect the impact of politics and political processes on bureaucracy. In a society like Thailand where the bureaucracy has incorporated most of the functions normally performed by other sectors within the political system, such a neglect has resulted in the unfortunate fact that Thai political scientists understand very little about Thai politics.[18]

Viewed from a somewhat different angle, another study of the same topic by the self-proclaimed "political economist," who is himself the very product of Thai political science teaching, has argued that the major weakness of political science in Thailand is twofold. First, is the ever fruitless search and vain attempt to give political science its own identity, the endeavour which has finally isolated political science completely from the rest of social sciences.[19] Particularly important is the fact that most Thai political scientists do not appreciate the relevance of history in their study and teaching of politics. They are, therefore, in no position to appreciate the evolution of their own discipline, nor can they understand the development of their very own society.[20] It should be noted at this point that Thai universities are normally highly departmentalized and political science has been taught traditionally in separate faculties and within each faculty by separate departments. Apparently, this has a lot to contribute to the above trend. Secondly, the thinking of Thai political scientists has been thoroughly dominated by those of foreign scholars, particularly by American scholars. As early as 1974, for example, about one-fourth of all high ranking civil officials in Thailand (including university instructors) have received their training in the United States.[21] As a result, there has emerged an unfortunate discrepancy between the academic teaching of political science and Thai political reality. Throughout the 70s when an increasing number of students were demanding the kind of knowledge relevant to social problems arising around them, one of the most consistent complaints had been that western political concepts taught in the universities were not applicable to the Thai context. Even the general public appeared to share the same view. For example, after the "1973 October Revolution" in which students brought about the downfall of the military regime that had been in power for years, several well-known political scientist from Chulalongkorn and Thammasat were appointed members of the Constitutional Drafting Committee to draft the new constitution; but many of their proposed measures in the

Constitution were strongly attacked from many quarters as being the play things of western-trained academicians, who knew nothing about the real situation in Thailand. In fact, a glance at the course offering in the fields of Government, International Relations and Public Administration by all universities show that very few political science courses are designed to deal directly with Thai politics or other aspects of Thai political life. Of these courses (Politics and Government of Thailand, Thai Local Government, Thai Administrative Process, Thai political Thought, Contemporary Political Problems in Thailand, Thai Foreign Relations, Thai Administrative Thought, Seminar in Current Issues of Thai Public Administration, Current Issues in Thai Public Personnel Administration) only Chulalongkorn supposedly offers all of them, while other institutions offer only the first three courses.

Yet, equally important in determining the trend of political science teaching in Thailand is the method of teaching. Most instructors in political science, for that matter just about any instructors in social sciences in Thailand, are content with mere giving lectures. Usually when the lecture is given, students who have always been spoon fed will jot down every word to be reproduced later in the exam. Even when the number of instructors of the new generation has since grown considerably, this traditional emphasis on lecturing is still much in evidence. Liberal discussion of problems is normally kept to the minimum. And this is true even at the graduate level. Back in the old days when political science students were basically trained to become good government officials, this "substantive approach",[22] which concentrates on giving the students substantive facts about certain subjects without further analysis, was more than adequate. But with the new curriculum, which presupposes critical attitudes among both teachers and students, the lecture approach makes the already western loaded content seem even more irrelevant.

Apparently, such a state of political science studying and teaching is related to the general shortage of teaching material in Thai and the foreign language handicap of Thai students. The fact that very few Thai students can read English texts makes it necessary for even a serious instructor to rely heavily on giving lecture. And despite recent efforts by native political scientists to produce Thai text books and journals only a few of such publications are dependable. Most of the books in political science in Thai belong, in fact, to the introductory level.[23] As a rule, most of them are merely syntheses of available foreign texts in Thai. Hence, assigning term papers for students to write rarely makes sense, except if one enjoys reading the reproduction of a few available texts on the subject. The lack of Thai textbooks in some areas, such as, political theory is very serious. Very few basic texts in the field have been translated from English into Thai, and for the most part, the quality of the translation is rather poor. A few examples will serve to illustrate this point. As of today, probably no more than ten dialogues of Plato have been translated into Thai, and not a single piece of Aristotle's works has been translated into Thai. Even good secondary sources on political theory are scarce. All in all, a few American textbooks on the subject may have been translated into Thai. That only a few books are around creates yet another problem, i.e., the possibility that students would regard whatever there is in the field or the only books they read as authoritative.[24] In short, political science teaching in Thailand seems to be modern in outlook only.

At this point it should be further noted that none of the old institutions nor the newly created ones, which grant degree in political science, has ever completely forsaken the old tradition. Students who are after the career in various departments of the Ministry of Interior, the National Police and the Army, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can always select the courses that would satisfy their specific needs. Note, for example, that as of today courses in Law and related subjects (like Introduction to Law, Constitutional Law, Criminal Law, Administrative Law, Civil and Commercial Law, Criminal Investigation and Examination, Criminal Procedure Code, Forensic Medicine) are still either required courses (at Kasetsart and Chiangmai) or offered as free elective courses. (See Table 5 for list of courses offered under the Judicial System Programme.) (At Thammasat, most of these courses are offered by the Faculty of Law)

In connection with this subject, an even more interesting fact is that for the past five years the number of political science students majoring in Public Administration has significantly increased to the point where it has now clearly outnumbered students majoring in other fields of political science combined (See Table 6). This disproportional increase in number of political science students majoring in Public Administration can be attributed to the greater number of job opportunities open to those graduates with Public Administration major. Such a development will eventually make its impact felt on the content and scope of political science in Thailand in the near future. One possible outcome could be that with the popularity of Public Administration as a major study programme, Public Administration may someday emerge as a distinct discipline by itself completely separated from Political Science. In fact there has already been some talks in certain circles about the need to establish a new Faculty of Public Administration at Thammasat University – but nothing concrete has come out of this yet. At any rate, the popularity of Public Administration as a major programme of study among political science students has already forced political science instructors in fields other than Public Administration to become aware of the need to take the job opportunities of their students into account. In an attempt to meet this demand, the Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University, for example, is now in the process of drafting the new curriculum, according to which students majoring in Government can choose specific courses that will prepare them towards future career not only with the Department of Local Government in the Ministry of Interior, which has been for years the traditional source of employment for students majoring in *Pokkrong,* but also with the Department of Labour and the Police Department.

It appears, therefore, that the idea that political science study is part of the training of students for career in the civil service will continue to exist and probably grow. Now, given the stage of "modernized but not developed" systematic study of political science, which by its very nature has very little to do with the conventional concept of political science as *Pokkrong,* it would seem that political science study in Thailand will be the mixture of both worlds for a long time to come.

2. Major Trends in Research

Teaching and research are two complementary aspects in the process of accumulation and transfer of knowledge in any discipline. A systematic study and

Table 5. List of Courses offered under the Judicial System Programme of the Department of Political Science, Public Administration, the Faculty of Social Sciences, Kasetsart University.

Source: Undergraduate Bulletin, Kasetsart University, 1980-1981.

1. Principles of Criminology.
2. Juvenile Delinquency.
3. Crime and Related Social Problems.
4. Crime Prevention.
5. Criminal Justice.
6. Criminological Theory.
7. Clinical Criminology.
8. Forensic Medicine.
9. Principles of Criminal Investigation.
10. Probation and Parole.
11. Correctional Organizations.
12. The Thai Police.
13. Research Method in Criminology.
14. Seminar.
15. Special Problems.

Table 6. Number of Political Science Graduates Classified according to their Major Programme of Study.

Institution	*1971*	*1972*	*1973*	*1974*	*1975*	*1976*	*1977*	*1978*	*1979*
Fac. of Pol. Sci. **Thammasat Univ.**									
Dept. of Govt.	102	144	69	84	38	55	43	48	53
Dept. of Pub. Adm.	90	78	60	81	102	96	127	102	118
Dept. of International Affairs	50	45	84	49	40	27	24	16	23
Dept. of Theory & Philosophy of Politics	–	–	–	3	5	2	2	1	1
Total	242	267	213	217	185	180	196	167	195
Fac. of Pol. Sci. Chula. Univ.									
Dept. of Govt.						50	55	58	45
Dept. of Pub. Adm.						136	49	73	80
Dept. of International Relations						20	38	24	32
Total						206	142	155	157

Source: State University Bureau.

teaching of political science in Thailand started in the late 50s when several young political science instructors returned from the United States with their advance degrees. Their impact on the study of political science was significant but they did not seem to have much impact on the research development. Very few engaged in research; and this could be easily explained – because at that time there was not much financial support or any other incentives.

Research in political science is a recent phenomenon in Thailand. Research is defined here as a systematic analysis of a well-defined problem with hypothesis or well-constructed conceptual framework. In 1960, the Thai government, recognizing the important role that research could play in the development of the country, established the National Research Council of Thailand, composed of ten committees, one for each discipline in the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities. The Committee on Political Science and Public Administration of the National Research Council of Thailand is supposed to oversee the research development and to provide financial support. Research in political science started to flourish in the 1970s, especially after the student uprising in 1973 which overthrew the military dictatorship. The academic was much more liberal and there were more financial supports both from inside and outside the country. In addition, research is now required for any university instructor as a criterion for promotion to assistant, associate and full professorship.

Researches in political science are mainly done by university instructors as well as by graduate students in the faculty of Political Science in various universities. A survey[25] was carried out in 1974 on the distribution of M.A. theses of Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University. (Table 7.)

These M.A. theses were probably the representative of the researches in the early period, which were mostly descriptive, and without conceptual framework or hypothesis. The majority of the theses were in the public administration field and the topics involved administrative problems or prescriptive manual for certain policy such as "How to Control Vehicles," "Administration of Provincial Electrical Power".

The topics which fell under international law and relations are mainly concerned with the history of foreign relations between Thailand and another country or with some practical aspect of international law such as "The Right of Aliens according to Treaty." The few topics on Politics are, for example, "The Electoral System in Thailand" or "The 2490 Coup d'etat."

Table 7. Distribution of M.A. theses of Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University, 1933-1973

Field	*Quantity*	
	Number	*Percentage*
Public Administration	63	65.60
International Law and Relations	26	27.10
Politics	7	7.30
	96	100.00

From: Likit Dhiravegin, "The State of Knowledge of Political Science", in *State of Social Science in Thailand*, A survey commissioned by the Social Science Association of Thailand, Bangkok, May 1974, p. 73.

The National Research Council of Thailand has been a major source of funding for research inside the country. The support is not very much, usually not more than $1,000 per project. The review of the list of 58 research projects in Political Science and Public Administration, supported by the National Research Council between 1960-1972 it is found that almost all of these researches are in the field of Public Administration. The topics and themes are mainly concerned with administrative or bureaucratic problems and policies. Very few of these researches deal with "political" issues, domestically or internationally. Only one topic of these 58 researches focuses on foreign relations. A few others deal with political history and the attitude of the people in general.

One of the reasons that these research projects are policy-oriented, lies in the fact that many on the Committee on Political Science and Public Administration of the National Research Council at that time have been trained in Public Administration. Another reason is that these researches are contract research and therefore are to serve the interests of the bureaucratic clients.[26]

It may seem strange to some observers that there are few researches in this period on politics or on political issues and processes. It is important to take note here that Thailand in the 60s was ruled under the strong military dictatorship and only in the early 70s its power began to decline. Nevertheless, the political science instructors or researchers, as civil servants, felt inhibited to do research on politics in this atmosphere. Doing research in Public Administration was not too politically sensitive and was much safer. This began to change in the 70s, especially after 1973 student uprising, which brought about the democratic interregnum for three years.

Table 10 shows the list of 22 research projects in political science and public administration, sponsored by the National Research Council between 1973 and 1977. Many of the researches continued to be on public administration, but a significant number focused on political issues and processes. Elements in the political system, especially the political institutions, such as the military and the political parties become the subjects of research. Election processes as well as the attitudes of the people on several political issues are also analyzed.

Many more researches on politics have been done during the mid and late 70s. In order to know the exact state of knowledge on research in political science and public administration, a subcommittee on research development was set up in 1979 by the Committee on Political Science and Public Administration of the National Research Council, to survey and compile the researches in the discipline in the past ten years from 1969 to 1979. The subcommittee's report, which was published in 1980, is a product of extensive survey and compilation. It analyzes and categorizes 442 researches, 176 of which are in political science and 266 in public administration, the majority of which are M.A. these (See Table 11). These researches in political science are then classified according to topics into 8 groups; those in public administration into 11 groups (See Table 12, 13). It is found that the research topics in political science are somewhat evenly distributed among these 8 groups; with the maximum at 28 each for topics on political behaviour and on political party and interest groups; and with 16 each for topics on political history and political thought. In public administration, researches tend to be concentrated

Table 10: List of Research projects funded by the Committee on Political Science and Public Administration, National Research Council of Thailand, 1973-1977.

1. Political Role of the Military in Thailand.
2. Impact of 1932 Revolution on Political Process between 1932-1952.
3. Intra-organizational Relations in Thailand : A case study on Rural Development.
4. Attitude of Senior Students at Chulalongkorn University toward the Role and Status of Parliament Representatives.
5. Personnel Administration of State Railway of Thailand.
6. The Analysis on the Problem of Assimilating Thai Moslems in Southern Border Provinces.
7. Ministry of Interior and Local Education: A Study on Role and Problem.
8. Legal Status of the Chinese in Thailand.
9. Personnel Administration in Institute of Applied Science Research of Thailand.
10. Provincial Development Plan : A Public Administration Analysis on Planning Processes, Implementation and other Problems.
11. Change in the Administrative Framework in the University : A Study of the Forestry Faculty At Kasetsart University.
12. Intraorganizational Communication for Development.
13. Position Classification in the Thai Bureaucracy.
14. A Study on Socio-Economic Change in Lampoon as a Satellite-town of Chiangmai Province.
15. Attitude of Chiangmai Province Residents toward Socialism.
16. The Financial Management of the buses in Bangkok in the form of a public company.
17. Analysis of Parliament Election in 1975.
18. Election for Self-Government in Bangkok.
19. A study on Labour Welfare in the industrial factories at Bangchan Industrial Estate.
20. Expectation of female personnel toward their superiors.
21. The Relationship between the Legislature and the Executive in Thailand: A Case Study of the House of Representative in 1969.
22. Administrative Behaviour of Mathayomsuksa School Administrators.

Source: *List of Researches Sponsored by the National Research Council B.E. 2516-2520,* Office of the National Research Council Committee, 2521.

on organization and administration, personnel administration and educational administration (See Table 13). Researches on administrative behaviour and local or regional government are quite popular as well. There are fewer researches on public policy or developmental administration which are new concepts. Research variety in public administration reflects the continuing interest and importance of this field in the discipline.

It is also interesting to note here that there are twenty-six researches on international relations, some of which deal with the Sino-Thai and Thai-Japanese relations, such as "The Sino-Thai Relations: An analysis of Factors Involved in the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations", and "The Thai Perception on China and Japan". These topics were of great interest in the mid 70s when there were anti-Japanese feeling and demonstrations in the country. China then became a controversial issue as Thai government considered establishing diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, previously perceived as a threat to Thai security.

Table 11. Categories of Researches in Political Science and Public Administration, 1969-1979

	Categories		
	Theses	*Research*	*Total*
Political Science	156	20	176
Public Administration	237	29	266
Total	393	49	442

Table 12. Topics of Research in Political Science, 1969-1979

Research Topics	*Number*	*Percentage*
1. Political Behaviour	28	15.91
2. Political Parties, Interest Groups	28	15.91
3. International Relations	26	14.77
4. Socialization and Political Culture	22	12.50
5. Political Processes	22	12.50
6. Political Institutions	18	10.23
7. Political History	16	9.10
8. Political Thought	16	9.10
Total	176	100.00

Source: The Subcommittee on Research Development in Political Science and Public Administration, *An Analytical Survey of Research in Political Science and Public Administration*, Bangkok, Thailand, 1980, pp. 42, 46.

From the survey analysis, the Subcommittee on Research Development found that the majority of researches on political history, political thought and political institutions have been done by graduate students in history, and only the minority by those in political science.[27] Nevertheless, all of them use historical approach, without hypothesis or conceptual framework, and are generally descriptive in analysis.

On the contrary, research topics on political parties, interest groups, political behaviour and socialization have been done by graduate students in political science, mostly in mid 70s, who use behavioural and modern methodology. Their researches are quite sophisticated, and the analysis is guided by conceptual framework and hypothesis. Some of these researches, especially those on socialization and political culture, have been influenced by the work of Gabriel Almond, Lucian Pye, and other noted American scholars.

New concepts and approaches have also been used in several researches in International Relations. Linkage theory has been used in analyzing Sino-Thai relation

Table 13. Topics of Research in Public Administration, 1969-1979

Research Topics	*Number*	*Percentage*
1. Organization and Administration	47	17.67
2. Personnel Administration	43	16.16
3. Educational Administration	40	15.04
4. Administrative Behaviour	34	12.78
5. Local and Regional Government	30	11.28
6. Planning and Implementation	19	7.14
7. Financial Administration	19	7.14
8. Public Policy	12	4.51
9. Labour Administration	11	4.13
10. Developmental Administration	7	2.63
11. Police Administration	4	1.50
Total	266	100.00

Source: Op. cit., p. 49

(The Sino-Thai Relations : An analysis of Factors Involved in the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations.) The research on "Political Co-operation in the ASEAN" has used integration theory in the analysis. Some of the researches in International Relations also use questionnaire or survey technique to gather information. Statistics and quantitative analysis have also been employed, for example, in the research on "Thai Perceptions on China and Japan".

In assessing the trend of research in political science in Thailand, it appears that most of the researches in political science deal either with one or more of the component parts of the political system, or with one or more of the processes involved in the system, such as socialization, administration and so on. Very few of these researches seek to analyze the relationship among these component parts and chart trend through time, and none seems to attempt to analyze the relationship among these various processes.

Although researches dealing with specific parts of the political system provide the basic foundation for the subsequent analysis, they are somewhat primitive and unsophisticated type of study. Researches dealing with one or more processes represent a step forward in analysis. Researches get more sophisticated when they attempt to explore and analyse relationships among various types of processes.

Many researches in Thailand have focused on political institutions but most of them use the historical approach, tracing the evolution, changes and development of an institution, or the structural approach, in which they study specific organizations and ask what particular functions they perform. Functional approach which focuses upon a particular function of the governmental system such as integrating the society or adapting the system to its environment and investigating the way in which these functions are performed, is rare in the research in Thailand. In sum, researches in Thailand have been dominated by traditional approaches, historical or structural, and the analyses are mainly descriptive and qualitative. Only in the past few years that quantitative methodologies are introduced, but only a minority of Thai political scientists are competent enough to use them. New approaches such as systems analysis have been introduced and taught in class but nobody has used them in research. This may be because they are not relevant to the study of Thai politics or they are too sophisticated to operationalize.

Recently, there is a trend towards a more interdisciplinary approach in research, for example the political economy or dependency approaches. Several young political scientists and economists got together and formed a "Political Economy Group", attached to the Social Research Institute at Chulalongkorn University. They have organized several seminars and discussions on interdisciplinary approach, especially the political economy approach. They also publish a bi-monthly academic journal called *Journal of Political Economy.* It is likely that the political economy approach will gain wider acceptance and play an important role in analysing Thai society.

It appears that more and more researches have been done, but their quality is not very high. New concepts and approaches must be popularized, and emphasis must be put on scientific methodologies and systematic analysis. Nevertheless, traditional approaches will continue to exist with the more scientific ones for a long time to come.

III. PROBLEMS OF THE PROFESSION

Since the growth of political science as a discipline has been determined, to a great extent, by the need for government personnel, it is not surprising therefore that the main channels of employment for political science graduates have been the government service. Lately, however, with the opening of Chiangmai, Ramkamhaeng universities and creations of study programmes in political science at other institutions, many of the new political science graduates have not been able to find jobs for them in the civil service, as in the past. As a result, a good proportion of them, especially those who major in public administration, is turning more and more towards career in the private sector. Table 14 shows, for example, that while the substantial number of political science graduates continues to seek employment with the government, the growing number is seeking jobs with private firms and companies. If we define political scientist as someone with a degree in political science, then, it may be said that most political scientists have received their training in the country and they normally work as administrators and technocrats either in the public service or in the private sector. It is questionable, however, if in such capacities any of them ever consciously regards his role as that of a "political scientist". It is more likely that most of them think of themselves as persons trained for some rather specific practical jobs. As such, it is also very likely that they make little or no academic contributions to the political science profession.

Those who can be appropriately called political scientists are probably political science instructors employed by colleges and universities. But all major universities in Thailand where political science is taught are run by the government. This means, therefore, that all university personnel are civil servants. That is to say, technically speaking, political science instructors too are civil servants like any other public employees. But the educational background of Thai political science instructors is quite different from those political scientists working in the bureaucracy. Table 15 shows that of 222 political science instructors teaching in major universities, only 57 of them are locally trained. Of those who have had their training abroad, more than half received their degrees from the United States. The second, third and fourth largest groups are of those educated in France, England and Australia respectively, but their numbers are far too small.

Given the large number of American trained political science instructors, one naturally would expect political science teaching and research in Thailand to be patterned after and clearly dominated by American practices and standard. But, as already mentioned, nothing could be further from the truth than this expectation. Due to various limitations, most Thai political science instructors have to resort to giving lectures as their only means of instruction, or to be more precise, the only

Table 14. Number of Political Science Graduates, their employers and reason for unemployment.
(class of 1975)

Inst., Fac. & Dept.	*No. of Pol. Sci. Grad. Questioned*	*Total*	*Reason for unemployment*			*Total*	*Type of employers*				
			Have not been able to find jobs	*Not yet wish to work*	*Pursuing Graduate Studies*		*Civ. Service*	*State Enterprise*	*Internat. Org.*	*Private Sector*	*Percentage of Pol. Sci. Grad. Employed*
Chula. Univ.											
Fac. of Pol. Sci.	135	58	32	2	24	77	37	2	–	38	57.04
Dept. of Govt.	60	31	18	1	12	29	15	2	–	12	48.33
Dept. of Pub. Adm.	60	21	12	1	8	39	16	–	–	23	65.00
Dept. of Inter. Rela.	15	6	2	–	4	9	6	–	–	3	60.00
Chiangmai Univ.	77	48	41	–	7	29	13	1	–	15	37.66
Thammasat Univ.											
Fac. of Pol. Sci.	123	54	38	3	13	69	23	4	–	42	56.10
Dept. of Govt.	26	13	9	2	2	13	9	–	–	4	50.00
Dept. of Pub. Adm.	68	29	24	–	5	39	9	3	–	27	57.35
Dept. of Inter. Rela.	26	11	4	1	6	15	4	1	–	10	57.69
Unspecified	3	1	1	–	–	2	1	–	–	1	66.97
Ram. Univ.											
Fac. of Pol. Sci.	7	4	4	–	–	3	3	9	–	–	42.86
Chula. Univ.						(class of 1976)					
Fac. of Pol. Sci.	91	24	9	1	14	67	29	12	–	26	73.63
Dept. of Govt.	31	8	4	–	4	23	12	3	–	8	74.19
Dept. of Pub. Adm.	45	11	5	1	5	34	13	8	–	13	75.56
Dept. of Inter. Rela.	15	5	–	–	5	10	4	1	–	5	66.67
Chiangmai Univ.	84	50	33	5	12	34	16	3	–	15	40.48
Thammasat Univ.											
Fac. of Pol. Sci.	93	35	24	1	10	58	29	8	–	21	62.37
Dept. of Govt.	30	12	6	–	6	18	14	1	–	3	60.00
Dept. of Pub. Adm.	54	18	14	1	3	36	14	6	–	16	66.67
Dept. of Inter. Rela.	8	5	4	–	1	3	–	1	–	2	37.50
Dept. of Theory & Philos of Pol.	1	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	100.00
Ram. Univ.	731	514	433	24	57	217	94	21	2	100	29.69
Year					(class of 1975, 1976, 1977 combined)						
Chula. & 1975	342	164	115	5	44	178	76	7	–	95	52.04
Thammasat & 1976	999	623	499	31	93	376	168	44	2	162	37.64
Ramkamhaeng 1977	1,027	526	425	22	79	501	250	31	1	219	48.78
Total	2,368	1,313	1,039	58	216	1,055	494	82	3	476	44.55
Percentage	100	55.44	43.87	2.44	9.12	44.55	20.86	3.46	0.12	20.10	44.55

Source: State University Bureau.

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method of conveying concepts, approaches and examples found in American textbooks to their students, who naturally find most of these alien subject matter irrelevant in the Thai context.[28] The fact of the matter is, again, as already stated, that teaching political science in Thailand cannot be said to be in a satisfactory state.

Perhaps, one of the biggest problems – both in relation to the teaching of political science and for that matter to the very profession itself – has to do with the lack of incentive on the part of most university instructors to teach. This is partly because as civil officials Thai university instructors, while they have "tenured jobs", draw relatively low salaries. Furthermore, their promotion has to be done in accordance with the rules and regulations set by the Civil Service Commission and the State University Bureau. Since the Thai Civil Service has adopted the Position Classification System in 1976, the major criterion for the promotion of university instructors has, in theory at least, been changed from that of seniority alone to include academic achievements, such as researches and publication of books and articles. But, in practice, the Position Classification System, when applied to the case of university instructors, works to their disadvantage, especially when compared to civil officials working in other capacities. As a matter of fact, university instructors, through their faculty senates, have protested against this unfair arrangement and have been negotiating with the Government for their better pay and better opportunity for years.[29] One of their voiced grievances is that since university instructors receive very small salaries compared to the renumerative one paid by business firm, many instructors have already left the universities for higher paid jobs. What they have not publicly said is that many of those who stay on, especially political science instructors who by the nature of their training do not easily find jobs in the private sectors, have to work part time or teach extra hours at night at their own or at some other universities. (One of the reasons why the graduate study programme of the Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University, for example, has started and still remained the twilight programme, is because university instructors teaching under such programme are entitled to extra pay.) Another common practice resorted to by a good number of those political scientists trained in the field research methods and techniques is to try to get some research projects sponsored by some international foundations. It is through these projects that many political science instructors, and for that matter most social science instructors in Thailand, are able to provide themselves with extra income in the form of research honorarium. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that in many cases it is not the academic interest anymore that determines the research topics. These "professional" political science researchers will grab at any thing that happens to come along providing that the honorarium is generous enough.

On top of this, there is the general lack of sense of professionalism among Thai political scientists. This is due basically to the fact that as a rule every university instructor is entitled to his low pay but permanent job. For one thing, an individual instructor, if he wants to, can in all the possibility survive by doing little more than routine teaching. It is true that the present system of promotion, which supposedly takes into consideration academic achievements, has to some extent created the atmosphere of "publish or perish" among political science instructors, but the low standard of academic screening and the poor quality of works produced indicates

Table 15. Highest Degrees and Countries Where Thai Political Science Instructors Receive Their Education (1981)

Institution	*Total number of students*	*U.S.A.*		*U.K.*			*Fr.*		*Austr.*		*Phil.*	*Neth.*	*Ind.*	*Sw. Dipl. or Cert.*	*Jap.*	*Sp.*	*Thai*		*Total number of instructors*
		Ph.D.	*M.A.*	*Ph.D.*	*M.A.*		*D.U.*		*Ph.D.*	*M.A.*	*M.A.*	*M.A.*	*M.A.*		*M.A.*	*B.A.*	*M.A.*	*B.A.*	
Chula. Univ.*	865	16	17		1	1	4		3	1	1			1			3	3	51
Thammasat	932	13	15			1	3	2+		1	1	1			1				38
N I D A	330	13	5	2		–					1						7		28
Ram. Univ.	73000	2	15			1	3				2		1			1	14	9	48
Chiangmai	360	1	11		1		3						2				4	6	28
Kaset. Univ.	192		4		1		1				1				1		4	1	13
Songkhla	125	1	7								1		1				5	1	16
Total		46	74	2	3	3	14	2+	3	2	7	1	4	1	2	1	37	20	222
Total		120		8			16		5		7	1	4	1	2	1	57		222

* Excluding 13 faculty members belonging to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

+ Studying

Abbreviations : Fr = France; Austr = Australia; Phil = Philippines; Neth = Netherlands; Ind = India; Sw = Sweden; Jap = Japan; Sp = Spain.

Source: State University Bureau.

on the contrary that there is as yet no geniune interest in worthwhile academic activities among Thai political scientists.[30] Moreover, since most Thai political science instructors have had their training abroad, many of them tend to look up to the west as the only true standard of academic achievements and disregard the merits of materials written in Thai and the works of scholars in neighbouring countries.

Officially, there exist some forms of co-operation among political science instructors belonging to different universities, but, more often than not, fruitful co-operation are those based on personal basis. Given the various fields, old and new, under the umbrella of political science discipline today, the community of Thai political scientists, if there is such a thing, seems to have very little in common. Each individual political scientist tends to act as if he is the sole authority in his own field.[31] For example, books written by political scientists belonging to a particular university will generally be used by only students of that university, or worse by the class taught by the authors of the books. It is rare that a book in political science will be accepted by instructors from different universities as a standard textbook. And this has been the case even when there are very few teaching materials written in Thai which are academically competent. In connection with this subject, it is also very interesting to note that at the present time just about all existing political science institutions (faculties and departments) have published their own political science journals. Thus, the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University has its *Journal of Social Science;* the Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University, the *Journal of Political Science;* the Faculty of Political Science, Ramkamhaeng University, the ***Ramkamhaeng Political Science Journal.*** Moreover, Thammasat, Ramkamhaeng and Chiangmai, for example, also publish the university academic journals whose scope also covers political science. But the quality of most, if not all, of these political science journals is not very high. For one thing, the editors and members of the editorial boards of these journals are political science instructors who serve mostly on charity basis, which means further that contributors to such journals receive only nominal fees for their articles. The task of the editorial boards of most political science journals involves, therefore, little screening of articles, but mainly how to find enough number of articles to fill the pages of each volume. In short, there is in Thailand no political science journal which is anywhere near the quality and standard of, say, *American Political Science Review or Western Political Science Quarterly* or *Journal of Politics.* Like most of the introductory level textbooks in political science written in Thai, the articles published in these journals are basically synthesis of whatever is available in foreign texts at the time. Very few of them are the result of research works or show any originality in critical thinking. In fact, if these journals receive no institutional backing and support, most of them would have died an early death owing to lack of quality articles and to a limited readership. A few social science journals which also contain good political science articles like *Thammasat University Journal* and the *Asian Review* of the Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, owe much of their success to the personality and devotion of their chief editors.

Under these circumstances, one sometimes expects professional associations to play an important role of help promoting professionalism among political scientists, but the Association of Thai political scientists also turns out, in reality, to be of no value. This is due in part to the fact that forming an association in Thailand, even an academic or professional one, has to involve an extremely long and difficult legal process. As a result, professional association is sometimes founded or headed by influential groups or persons whose interests are hardly academic. The Political Science Association of Thailand, for example, never engaged itself in any worthwhile academic activity. This association, like most alumni associations, functions more as a social club, its most memorable activity so far seems to be that of organizing the campaign to raise fund for charity. It is not surprising, therefore, that very few serious political scientists know or care of its existence. Indeed, very little is known about its main activities or about its officers. To those political scientists who are curious enough, the fact that its present President is a general in the Thai Police Force is more than sufficient to convince them of its non-academic nature. Meanwhile, the Social Science Association of Thailand (founded in 1957), which considers Political Science to be one of its major concerns, has proved itself to be a much better channel for interested political scientists to participate and co-operate with fellow political scientists and other social scientists in various academic activities, such as, seminar, workshop, public lecture, publication and the like. In 1974, for example, the Association sponsored a survey on the state of social sciences in Thailand, which also included a chapter on the development of political science in the country. Then in 1978 and 1979 it sponsored seminars and workshops on the state of knowledge of public administration in Thailand. And most recently in 1980, together with the National Research Council, it sponsored research and workshop on the state of knowledge of research works on political science and public administration. To a certain extent, the Social Science Association of Thailand has also served as the channel through which interested political scientists can collaborate with fellow political scientists in the regions. The office of the Secretary-general of the Association has, for example, for the past four years been highly instrumental in arranging on behalf of the Southeast Asian Studies Programme (presently based in Singapore) for the Thai political scientists to join in a joint effort with political scientists in the ASEAN countries (Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines and Indonesia) to write a standard textbook on Government and Politics of Southeast Asia. The Association has also regularly provided fora for both Thai political scientists and visiting foreign political scientists to present their research findings or ideas. The same kind of activities and services has also been offered by the Institute of Asian Studies, presently associated with the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University. For the past few years, under the strong leadership of its previous and present directors, the Institute has played a highly significant role in both stimulating academic interest in Asian affairs among Thai political scientists and in promoting international ties between Thai scholars and international community of scholars. But both the Social Science Association of Thailand and the Institute of Asian Studies, as their very names imply, are not meant to serve political scientists exclusively. Thus, until such time when a true professional association of political scientists emerges out of their genuine concern, its very absence is, in a way, a clear indicator of how academically strong the discipline has been.

In the realm of research, there has not been much interest among Thai political scientists in the past to do research because it did not bring about promotion, fame, or fortune. Promotion in the universities, previously, depended upon the seniority in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Although the National Research Council of Thailand has been trying to promote researches, the financial support was rather small and limited, resulting in fewer good researches.

In the late 70s, several incentives are provided, including more research funds not only from the National Research Council but also from the universities themselves. One of the most important incentives probably is the new promotion system, set up by the University Bureau, which takes into consideration not only the teaching but also research and publication (books as well as articles.) Research becomes an important criterion in the promotion from instructor to assistant professor, associate professor and full professor. This seems to have a direct effect on the quantity of research, but not necessarily on their quality.

Another incentive is the sabbatical leave system, recently set up by the State University Bureau. After teaching for a period of five years, any university instructor is entitled for a year of sabbatical leave, in which one is free from teaching and other administrative work so as to devote all time for research or writing a book. These incentives are changes in the right direction for research development in Thailand.

It is important to note here that research grants from abroad on political topics are not many, when compared with other social science disciplines such as sociology, economics, and demography. It is also more difficult for young political scientists to get research grants from abroad. They usually apply for support from their universities or the National Research Council. Another internal source is the research institutes such as the Thai Khadi Research Institute at Thammasat University, or the Institute of Social Research at Chulalongkorn University. Private professional organization such as the Social Science Association of Thailand also provides some research support.

On the other hand, the senior or "established" political scientists, who have participated in international seminars and workshops and are well known internationally, are often contacted by foreign foundations or research institutes to engage in political researches on Thailand. They are often informed about international research grants and their research proposals have good opportunity for approval. A recent development is that several senior political scientists and other social scientists have set up a research group called Thai University Research Association (TURA) to do contract research. In addition, TURA has organized several seminars to discuss the research findings and published a few books such as *Thailand in the 1980s: Significant Issues, Problems and prospects.* It has made some contributions to the field, but it has been criticized for being an exclusive club of "elite" researchers, because the researches are often done by some senior scholars. It has been suggested that more young political scientists and researchers should be recruited in the research teams or that the research projects should be subcontracted to them so that they will have more experience.

Another problem for Thai political scientists, especially the active ones, is that they are doing several things and have a lot of duties and responsibilities. Political scientists in the universities are required to teach undergraduate as well as graduate courses. Because of the low salary, many of them also teach at other universities or give special lectures to government, or military agencies, such as the Royal Thai Army, Naval and Air Force Staff Colleges. Many have also administrative responsibilities, or have become members of several committees inside and outside the universities. Some become members of professional organizations, editor, or members of the editorial staffs of academic journals. Preparing lectures, teaching in class and attending the meetings, usually take up most of their time. This does not provide any free time to read foreign journals or keep up with new methodology, concepts or controversies. The overloading often affects the academic performance. The sabbatical leave, as mentioned earlier, is set up to provide opportunity to catch up with new developments in the field.

Apart from the above, Thai political scientists face another uniquely Thai problem. That is the limitation of academic freedom. To begin with, as a civil servant, a political science instructor is supposed to be governed by certain regulations and rules. A Thai civil servant is not allowed, for example, to give an interview to the mass media without prior permission from his superior. As such, while a political science instructor is theoretically not required by law to publicly support the government, he is nevertheless not allowed to challenge the government's policy. Indeed, the fact that Thailand is a country which has been, more often than not, under military rule alone presents quite a problem for those who have to teach about democracy and self-government. Furthermore, there exist in the country a few subjects which have been traditionally considered "taboo" or too controversial for political scientists to touch. Political issues which are concerned, for example, with very important institutions like Buddhism or the Monarchy are simply socially and politically too sensitive to be targets of any objective study or research. That is to say, there are certain political issues and questions of the country which Thai political scientists must be careful not to disturb. University instructors who are not careful with their choices of words may easily find themselves objects of all kinds of attacks and persecution. Hence sensitive political issues are mostly left untouched or only partially and uncritically explained by Thai political scientists for fear they might be branded as communists or radicals. Even today the political consideration must be taken as seriously as before. The reason for this is what has happened in Thailand during the past eight years.

To begin with, in October 1973 the student "revolution" or "uprising" depending on who looks at it, tricggered the downfall of the military regime that had been in power for years. That the democratic ideals of freedom and responsible government had something to do with the initial protest against the government was undeniable. Even the government itself always paid lip service to these ideals. What followed for the next three years was the general atmosphere of democracy with the greatest opportunity for the freedom of expression for all. The student movement, at its early peak of prestige and influence, played an important role in an attempt to bring about their ideals of social and political changes. Well known university instructors, including several political scientists, were also actively involved in politics, preparing the country for democracy. Democracy, however, brought along with it opportunity for conflicts to surface. Social and political grievances long suppressed under the previous regime came out in the open. Political ideas like socialism and eventually Marxism also flourished in various forms. And more and more traditional Thai values came under crucial scrutiny. But the fact of the matter is that political changes that took place in 1973 did not alter the central power structure of the country in any significant way. As a result, there emerged the big gap between expectation and reality that led to an increasingly violent polarization between leftist and rightist forces. This split finally resulted in an abrupt end to democracy with bloody suppression of students and demonstrators at Thammasat University campus on October 6, 1976. Many students were killed and about 3000 were temporarily taken into custody. Charges which were brought against some of the student leaders ranged from treason to committing *Lese Majesty*. Universities were raided and closed. Over a million books were confiscated and burned. Some students including a few university instructors fled into the hills. Civil servants were required to attend the anti-Communist National Security Education Programme. A few courses had to be abolished and self-imposed censorship was adopted by those instructors who did not identify themselves with the rightists. The period of "witch hunting" lasted for almost one full year.

It has now been a few years and a couple of governments already since the tragic day in 1976. Yet, it is obvious that the critical years of 1973-76 have had great impact on the thinking of both students and instructors, especially political science students and political science instructors. For one thing, the Thai society as a whole has been much more politicized than ever before. In a way, this makes political science more relevant. But this does not necessarily mean that one is now free to investigate into every political issue. Political scientists who want to pursue the study of touchy subjects still have to omit a number of important things and have to exercise extreme care in expressing their ideas. To conclude, it may be quite some time before Thai political scientists will feel psychologically or practically less constrained to work on such important issues. As things stand now, these are the areas where foreign scholars may be in a better position than the Thai political scientists to explore in a more critical and objective manner.

IV. AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE

As already suggested in section II, the present status of political science in Thailand may be best described as being that of "modernized but not developed". Most Thai political scientists are "modern" in a sense that they received their training abroad and follow their counterparts in the West, meaning basically American political scientists, most of them also regard behavioural or "scientific" approach as the way to the study of politics. Yet, whereas American pioneers in the "behavioural" movement could appropriately talk about their "revolution" knowing pretty well what they were up against as well as possible implications of such a break with the past, most Thai political scientists, on the other hand, hardly know anything about what it was that their American predecessors had tried to break away from. Like those who had once imported legal and institutional approaches into Thailand from European countries, Thai political scientists today simply imported behavioural approach from the United States into Thailand. As such, it is hard to say that there has ever been any real "revolution" against any important tradition of learning or approaches to the study of, and research in, political science in Thailand.

(It is interesting to note in this connection that even criticisms voiced against the new approaches imported by the majority of Thai political scientists are made by few political scientists who were themselves trained in the tradition of political philosophy from the United States.[32]) Furthermore, although they may engage themselves in research works more than ever before, most Thai political scientists today still conduct their courses in the very same way their predecessors did years ago. And inspite of their newly acquired research techniques, political scientists are generally far behind historians and economists regarding the contribution made to the better understanding of Thai society. And, as already has been pointed out, the very concern of "scientific" political scientists in the near future may very well be how to maintain the relevance of scientific study of politics in the face of growing interest in practical or career training among most political science students. In short, the task is not merely how to upgrade the teaching and research in political science to a true scientific level, but making it at the same time more relevant to the needs of the society as well as the practical needs of the students. More specifically, the government as the major sponsor of political science education and as an important source of research funds must see to it that the following measures be carried out :

(1) University instructors should be motivated to devote themselves fully to the task of teaching and doing research. This means that the government must improve their working conditions, provide them with sufficient income and release them from cumbersome and unnecessary bureaucratic regulations and rules. Political and financial problems involved, however, will probably make this problem of incentive the most difficult one to solve.

(2) The content of political science curriculum should be improved so that it becomes more relevant to the needs of the society. Interdisciplinary approach to the understanding of social and political phenomena must be promoted. Political science students, while they may be trained to be competent practitioners of any particular skill closely related to their specific jobs, should also be taught to have analytical minds to appreciate the value of other disciplines as well. Training in research methodology should always be taught along with basic knowledge about one's own country and neighboring countries.

(3) Some sort of official agency responsible for the translation of standard textbooks in foreign languages into Thai must be set up. In fact, the National Research Council, through its Political Science and Public Administration Committee, has throughout the years sponsored the translation of a number of books in political science, but the books translated are far too small in number and have failed to reach wide readership. Some other private organizations, like the Textbook Project Foundation, have also sponsored some translation works but again the number is just too small. Recently, the State University Bureau has tried to come up with a more productive plan to give financial support to Thai scholars so that they can write serious and dependable textbooks in Thai dealing critically with various aspects of Thai society. What will actually come out of this programme remains to be seen. It can be expected, however, that once these measures are adopted, significant changes in the method of teaching political science may follow.

(4) In order to promote and upgrade the quality of researches in political science, it is important to popularize various concepts, new approaches, and relevant methodologies in the research on political science. A committee of well-qualified political scientists should be set up to write a book or series of books on approaches and methodologies, as well as new ideas or new themes in research. This will serve as a handbook for political research and will not only explain the essence of various approaches including the strength and weakness and built-in bias, but also suggest how to operationalize them in Thai context.

(5) Political science as a discipline should contribute more to the analysis and understanding of Thai society. Topics and areas for researches must be identified and supported by the government. Priority and emphasis should be put on the researches about political processes such as participation, recruitment, conflict, interest articulation and integration in contemporary Thai society. Researches in decision-making and policies should be supported by the government by declassifying various documents and making them available for research. Moreover, researches should also be done on the neighbouring countries, ASEAN as well as Indochinese states, which we know very little of. The government should facilitate the academic exchange with these countries, especially the Indochinese states.

(6) The issue of academic freedom should also be taken up for serious discussion and action by all parties concerned. Admittedly there is no ready-made solution for this problem. But at least the government and the academic community should together try to thrash out their differences, and set the ground rules which are to be observed by both sides. For one thing, unless something is done to remove any unnecessary obstacle to the conduct of objective, responsible and useful researches in a freer atmosphere, serious Thai political scientists will find it difficult to address themselves as political scientists to the political problems of the day.

Apparently, much of the success of the measures suggested above will depend a great deal on the policy and actions of the government, which, as always, seems to have something more important to attend to. The problems of political scientists in Thailand will, therefore, have to be solved through other channels and means. In view of all that has been said, the prospect of any possible significant changes in the trend of both teaching and research in political science in Thailand appears to be unfortunately quite remote.

NOTES

[1] Amara Raksasataya "The Study of Political Science in Thailand" *Rathasasnites,* Vol. 3 No. 1 (1966), p. 38.

[2] The Subcommittee on Research Development in Political Science and Public Administration, *The Analytical Survey on Research in Political Science and Public Administration,* Vol. 1 -Survey Report, 1980, p. 27.

[3] The Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University has since adopted the "Black Singha" (Lion-like animal in Thai classical literature), the emblem of the Ministry of Interior, as its own emblem.

[4] The Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University has adopted the "Red Singha" as its emblem.

[5] Raksasataya, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[6] In 1966 the Institute of Public Administration was upgraded and renamed the Institute of Development Administration. It has since expanded into a graduate school with several faculties of its own.

[7] *Department of Political Studies Bulletin,* Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University, 1968. p. 2

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 1.

[9] See for example, the *Faculty of Political Science Bulletin,* Chulalongkorn University, 1979, p. 4 and *Undergraduate and graduate Bulletin* 81/82 Thammasat University. 1981., p. 24.

[10] The Department of Political Science, the Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiangmai University has adopted the "White Singha" as its emblem; the Faculty of Political Science, Ramkamhaeng University, the "Golden Singha"; the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, the Faculty of Social Science, Kasetsart University, the "Jade Singha".

[11] There has been some talks about the academic necessity to completely separate public administration from political science proper but so far the attempt to set up the Faculty of Public Administration at the undergraduate level has been unsuccessful. See Uthai Laohavichien, "The Study on Public Administration in Thai Universities: Conflicting Approaches between Political Science and Public Administration Scholars," *Rathasassarn,* Vol. 4, No. 1, March 1977.

[12] *Undergraduate Bulletin: Faculty of Political Science, 1980-81.* Thammasat University, Bangkok, 1980 p. 12.

[13] Pornsakdi Pongpaow, *Political Science: Development and Approaches,* (2 ed) Srianand Press, Bangkok, 1981, p. 122. (footnote No. 32)

[14] Likhit Dhiravegin, "The State of Knowledge of Political Science" in *State of Social Science in Thailand,* The Social Science Association of Thailand. Bangkok, 1974. p. 70.

[15] Prajchaya Wesarach, "The curriculum of Public Administration in Thailand", in Uthai Laohavichien, Prajchaya Wesarach, and Chalermpol Srihongse (ed.) *Public Administration : Scope, Status and Development in Thailand,* Social Science Association of Thailand, Bangkok, 1979, pp. 197-98; and Bhidhaya Bowornwatana, "Looking at Public Administration Scholars", *Journal of Social Science,* Vol. XV No. 4 (Oct-Dec., 1978), pp. 140-45.

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FIVE

INDONESIA: *Miriam Budiardjo*
Maswadi Rauf

I. HISTORY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN INDONESIA

When studying the development of political science in Indonesia one has to bear in mind certain factors that have influenced the development of education in general and higher education in particular. Thus, it may be useful to start with giving a short description of Indonesia as it developed since World War II.

Indonesia, which proclaimed its independence in 1945, is an archipelago consisting of over 13,000 islands, of which almost 1,000 are inhabited. The five major islands are Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Kalimantan,and Irian Jaya. With a land area of 1,919,443 square kilometers it is the fifteenth largest country in the world. In terms of population (151 million at the end of 1981) it ranks fifth in the world after China, India, U.S.S.R. and the United States, and third in the Third World. Clearly, problems connected with over-population are among the foremost facing Indonesia today. Especially when it is realized that in 1942, just before the start of World War II, the population was only 70 million.

Despite efforts of the Government to intensify its family planning programme, the fertility rate is still 2.32%. Moreover, the population is spread unevenly; Java with 6.86% of the total land area has 61.9% of the total population or 91.3 million people, with an average density of 690 people per square kilometer, while Irian Jaya has only three inhabitants per square kilometer. In 1980, Indonesia had an illiteracy rate of 27.9%.[1]

In addition to the varying population density indifferent parts of the country, there is also, great cultural diversity. There are more than 300 ethnic groups with almost 350 dialects. Fortunately, there is one common language, the *Bahasa Indonesia.* Also there is a variety of religions; more than 88% of the population are Moslem, 7.86% are Christians, and the remainder are Hindus and Buddhists. Finally, there are a number of minority groups, of which the Chinese are the largest single group.

In addition to these factors Indonesia has experienced periods of turmoil hampering the consistent development of education for its diverse population. Before World War II Indonesia was a Dutch colony; from 1942 till 1945 it was occupied by the Japanese; in August 1945, it proclaimed its independence.

However, it took four years of protracted struggle against Dutch colonial troops before Indonesia was recognized as a fully sovereign state. In December 1949 Indonesia took its place at the United Nations as its 60th member state. In August 1950, Indonesia took another decisive step in its constitutional development by changing the nine-months old federal system of government into a unitary one. It was then hoped that with the successful completion of the revolution Indonesia would, with a parliamentary system of government, be able to tackle problems of development, including those connected with education.

However, internal squabbles continued and the parliamentary system of government under which each cabinet lasted an average of less than one year was called into question. Thus, in 1959 the parliamentary system was discarded and a new era ushered in – the period of *Guided Democracy* under President Sukarno. The revived 1945 Constitution on which it was based called for a presidential system of government, with both the president and parliament having fixed terms of office. It was hoped that this could help develop political stability.

However, after some time the then president lost much of his popularity because of a tendency towards authoritarian rule. The period of Guided Democracy ended with the Communist-inspired Gestapu Coup in 1965. This event meant the beginning of the "New Order" Government under President Suharto. The presidential system which was retained made it possible to embark on a consistent programme of development through a series of Five Year Plans. Started in 1969, Indonesia is now almost at the end of the Third Five Year Plan.

Needless to say that all these events had their impact on the development of education. The Ministry of Education had in 1982 a budget larger than ever before, i.e. Rp. 1.3 trillion. Higher education would be alloted Rp. 124 million, but the greater part would go into preparations for compulsory education until the age of twelve, scheduled for the Fourth Five Year Plan.

1. Higher Education in Indonesı

Before World War II, there was no university in the Netherlands Indies; only a few separate higher education institutions existed. Shortly before the Japanese invasion in 1942, for a total population of about seventy million, there were only five institutions of higher learning, of which two were established shortly before the end of the colonial regime. The Faculty of Technology (Bandung) was established in 1920, the Faculty of Law (Jakarta) in 1924, and the Faculty of Medicine (Jakarta) in 1927. In 1940, the Faculty of Letters (Jakarta) and in 1941 the Faculty of Agriculture (Bogor) followed suit.

In the period of 1920-1940, there were 3,242 students of which 1,489 or 46% were Indonesians; while the number of university graduates totalled 532, of which 230 or 43% were Indonesians. Also, there were only 19 Indonesian professors, or 15% of the total number of professors. In 1940, two years before the Japanese invasion, there were 157 Indonesians studying at the various institutes of higher learning, while 37 graduated in that year.[2]

During the Japanese occupation which lasted from 1942 till 1945 all faculties remained closed except the Faculties of Medicine and Technology which were re-opened in 1943 and 1944 respectively. However, the period was important because the Indonesian language along with Japanese became the official language, replacing the Dutch language. For the first time *Bahasa Indonesia* was used as the official means of instruction from primary school to higher education institutions.

After the Proclamation of Independence in August 1945 until August 1950 higher education activities were of course very limited. Despite many obstacles the Gadjah Mada University was established in 1949. It became a symbol of the Indonesian Revolution and has remained so ever since. In 1950, Gadjah Mada University had a student body of 981 students, which in 1955 grew to 7,823 students and at present it has a student body of over 19,000.

During the same time the University of Indonesia came into being, as a fusion of the Indonesian Council of Higher Education (Balai Perguruan Tinggi Indonesia) and the Universiteteit van Indonesia established in Dutch occupied territory. At present, the University of Indonesia, with ten faculties, is second in size with about 13,000 students.

Special mention is made of these two universities, because they have retained their leading role in the university system, despite the fact that the number of universities, both State and private, has increased considerably over the years. The greatest increase took place in the 60s when it was the policy of the Government to give in to regional demands by establishing a university in almost all provinces, including the very remote ones. Thus, while in 1959 there were only eight institutions of higher learning (seven universities and one institute of technology), in 1965, six years later, there were twenty-five universities and three institutes, or an average increase of three institutions a year. In 1963 alone six universities and institutes were established, in addition to four teachers colleges.[3] Needless to say that this sudden development created a great strain, both in terms of equipment and facilities, but especially in terms of man power.

At present (1982) there are 43 state institutions of higher learning (30 universities, 3 institutes and 10 teachers colleges) with 300,000 students. There are also 365 private institutions with 350,000 students. Of these latter institutions some are considered good, but the majority compares less favourably with those organized by the government.

But even among the institutions organized by the government a great variety in quality may be discerned. The five considered the best and in the sixties often called the "Centers of Excellence" are the University of Indonesia, Gadjah Mada University, the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), the Bogor Institute of Agriculture (IPB), and Airlangga University. Located in Java, which is the most developed of all islands, they are older and have had more access to various facilities. Generally, they have the largest number of senior lecturers with advanced degrees, the most favourable teacher-student ratio and the highest productivity rate.[4] Some fields covered by these institutions have made spectacular progress in the 60s because of co-operation with foreign universities funded by international agencies. We may mention technology and agriculture (ITB and IPB with the University of Kentucky) and economics and medicine (University of Indonesia with the University of California).[5]

In the official execution of their tasks the universities are guided by *Tri-Dharma Perguruan Tinggi* (the Three Duties of Higher Education) which cover teaching, research, and service to the society. Since teaching is the first and foremost duty, the main emphasis of university activities has been on improving teaching capabilities. The second duty is conducting research since it is felt that teaching and research are closely related. This report will cover both fields.

The third duty, social service, is based on the view that a university is not an ivory tower but stands in the middle of society. Translated into operational terms this means that universities must actively engage in giving service to the society. These services can take on various forms, as for instance training for journalists or other social and professional groups, medical services for the rural areas, aid to villagers to cope with problems caused by natural disasters, participation in *Gotong Royong* (Mutual aid) activities in a village and so on. Often these activities call for the involvement of several faculties, and the university then acts as the co-ordinator.

The system of education which has prevailed since Independence but is presently undergoing a fundamental change, was rather heavily influenced by the colonial experience. It involves six years of primary school, three years of junior high school and an additional three years of senior high school. At the university an additional five years is required to obtain the *sarjana* degree (equivalent to a Master's degree), with the exception of the Faculty of Medicine which requires six years of study to qualify as a physician. Each university consists of a number of faculties or schools (Gadjah Mada University has eighteen faculties and the smaller University of Mataram has four), each of which usually represents a single scientific discipline (like the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Law). Each faculty is again divided into several departments, each specializing in a particular branch of the discipline. For instance, the Faculty of Economics contains the Department of Industrial Economics, Accountancy and so on.

Some faculties, however, are not limited to one discipline, but contain several, such as the Faculty of Letters and the Faculty of Social and Political Science. At the University of Indonesia they contain fifteen and six disciplines (also called Departments) respectively. Thus, while at the majority of the faculties at a university a department represents one branch of a discipline, at the two faculties just mentioned a department actually represents a discipline in itself.

Each faculty has its own Dean who is assisted by three Assistant Deans, each in charge of academic, personnel/financial, and student affairs respectively. Each university is headed by a Rector, also assisted by three corresponding Assistant Rectors.

Under this system the courses at the university are mostly required courses, arranged according to Levels (or *Tingkat*), in most cases five Levels. Each Level, which coincides with one academic year, provides for two semesters of coursework; the students have to pass all courses at their Level before they can move up to a higher one. In case a student flunks a few courses, he has to take those courses again in the next academic year, until he has finished all courses at this particular Level. Because of this regulation some valuable time is invariably lost. Moreover, the students have little flexibility in choosing their courses or changing their order. On the other hand, it enables the faculty to hold the students responsible for a specific body of knowledge at the completion of each year of study or Level.

At the successful completion of three Levels of coursework they receive a

Sarjana Muda degree, (equivalent to a Bachelor's degree) and a *Sarjana* degree after the completion of two additional Levels of coursework and the writing of a *Sarjana* thesis *(skripsi)*. A *Sarjana* degree under this system is equivalent to a Doctorandus Degree (abbreviated *Drs*) or an engineer's degree (abbreviated *Ir.*) which are both in accordance with the Dutch tradition, and comparable to an American *Master's* degree. A *Sarjana* graduate can obtain a Doctor's degree after writing an extensive dissertation under the guidance of two or three professors, without taking any additional courses. This again goes back to a Dutch tradition.

However, a nation-wide study undertaken by the Government showed that, although progress had been made over the years, there were certain serious weaknesses in the system. It showed that the drop-out rate was high and the productivity rate low. It turned out that the highest number of students were concentrated in the first year (which was to be expected), but also, although to a lesser extent, in the final year, probably because they encountered difficulties in writing their thesis. Thus, the average time to finish the five-year *sarjana* study was 7.9 to 8.7 years.[6] All these factors made the cost of study per capita too high, something a developing country like Indonesia could ill afford. Further, the general opinion was that the system was too rigid to be able to adapt itself to changes in the society and new trends in technology, and that the graduates it produced tended to be too narrowly discipline-oriented, since they could not take courses outside their particular faculty.

After a long period of evaluation and deliberation in the early 70s, a new system was devised and promulgated as Decision of the Minister of Education and Culture *(Surat Keputusan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan)* No. 124/U/1979. This Decision standardized the various stages of higher education, the curriculum in the various disciplines and introduced the credit system.

In addition, it was also felt necessary to standardize the organization and structure of the universities. Many universities, because of a different history and in the absence of a standard pattern, had developed in different directions very often influenced by the perceptions of the teaching staff who happened to be in charge at the beginning of its existence. In the simple question of names, for instance, the Social and Political Science Faculties give a good example of the diversity under the old system. The Gadjah Mada University, followed by most other universities, called the Social Science Faculty as *Fakultas Sosial-Politik,* abbreviated SOSPOL, while the University of Indonesia called it *Fakultas Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial,* abbreviated FIS. As a matter of fact the name Fakultas Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial was agreed upon in 1970 by the Consortium of the Social Sciences (then still called Sub-Consortium), but only the University of Indonesia changed the faculty's name accordingly. The Hasanuddin University later followed suit, but changed the whole organization as well. The new Government Regulation (Peraturan Pemerintah) No. 5, 1980, puts an end to this variety of names by stipulating that all Social Science Faculties will be known as *Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* or Faculty of Social and Political Science.

The Decision of the Minister of Education and Culture No: 124/U/1979 abandoned the Level *(Tingkat)* system and introduced the credit system; the *sarjana* study is shortened by one year and provisions are made for two years of advanced study, as a prerequisite for a doctor's study.

Under the new regulations, higher education is divided into three strata. The first stratum (S_1) which leads to the *sarjana* degree calls for a study of four years (to a maximum of seven) during which students are required to obtain 144 to 150 credit points. The second stratum, (S_2) or *Pascasarjana* study, provides for two additional years of study (or a maximum of five) during which the students are required to obtain a total of 180-194 credits. This study is equivalent to an American master's degree study.* The third stratum (S_3) leading towards a *doctor's* degree, requires the student to obtain a total of 228-233 credit points, to be obtained in a total of eight to eleven years (including the S_1 and S_2 studies).

Table 1. Three strata of university education
(Based on Decision of the Minister of Education
and Culture No. 124/U/1979)

No.	*Strata*	*Total credit points*	*Total years*
1.	Sarjana (S_1)	144 – 160	4 – 7
2.	Pascasarjana (S_2)	180 – 194	6 – 9
3.	Doktor (S_3)	228 – 233	8 – 11

The Stratum-one courses are so organized that students are free to choose from a number of courses offered, on top of a set of required courses determined by the faculty. It gives the students a certain amount of flexibility to construct a programme suitable to their needs and talents and widen their horizons by taking courses outside his department and even (if the proper arrangements between the faculties concerned have been made) outside the faculty. Because of the credit system courses can more easily be adapted to new needs of the society. The shorter study will enable alumni to enter the labour market at an earlier age, which in many cases will support the national development effort. To make up for the shorter period of study, specific directives have been formulated to make the study more intensive.

As stated above, at present both systems exist side by side. Technological institutes have started it more readily than universities, while Gajah Mada University was among the first to embark upon the new system. The University of Indonesia has been slower to change the system; the Faculty of Letters was the first to introduce the credit system, while the Faculty of Social and Political Science (including its Political Science Department) introduced the new system at the beginning of the 1982 academic year. In 1984 all State universities are expected to have changed to the new system.

Recently, a number of Stratum-two or *Pascasarjana* Programmes have been established at the bigger universities. For the social sciences they have been set up at the University of Indonesia and Gadjah Mada University. These two-years programme are deliberately kept small (ten to twenty admissions each year) so as to ensure quality. They aim at producing better teachers for the S_1 programmes and better researchers. In addition, they will be a means of selecting the most promising students among them for entering the Stratum-three or Doctor's programme after the completion of their *Pascasarjana* study. The old pattern of obtaining a doctor's degree without additional coursework has remained valid for those who obtained their *Sarjana* degree before June 8, 1979. Those who obtained their degrees after that date are required to complete a *Pascasarjana* study first.

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* Under the previous system the *Sarjana* degree was considered equivalent to the American Master's degree.

2. Political Science Teaching in Indonesia

At the university level, political science is only taught at Social and Political Science Faculties. These faculties contain a variety of disciplines, such as public and business administration, sociology, political science, mass communications, social welfare etc. Of the 17 Social and Political Science faculties only ten offer degrees in political science.

The Social and Political Science faculties do not include those branches that have developed in Indonesia before the Social and Political Science faculties came into existence. Thus, economics, law, and psychology form separate faculties. Anthropology, although also introduced earlier, is not organized as a faculty, but only as a department in the Faculty of Letters, a division inspired by the then prevailing divisions at Dutch universities. However, cultural anthropology and Indonesian cultural system courses are taught to political science students, while conversely "Introduction to Political Science" is taught at the Faculty of Letters as a required course for anthropology majors. It should be noted, however, that in the very near future anthropology will be incorporated in the Faculty of Social and Political Science.

Special mention should be made of the influence of law on the development of political science in Indonesia. The pre-war Faculty of Law, established in 1924 produced Indonesia's first social scientists. Apparently the broad sociological basis of the law curriculum made its graduates aware of existing social problems. Thus, many Indonesians holding law degrees (in 1941 they numbered about 166) played important roles in the nationalist movement and in the struggle for independence. It was not surprising that their formal and juridical approach heavily influenced political science at the beginning of its development. Writings by Dutch scholars like R. Kranenburg and J. Logemann, especially the former's *Staatsleer* (General Science of the State) and *Staatsrecht* (Law of the State) were widely read, even outside the university. It was only much later, when foreign-trained political scientists returned from study abroad (notably the United States) and non-legal literature about politics became widespread, that the legal and institutional approach became less dominant and political science could develop in its own right.[7]

The political science departments retain close ties with the other disciplines within the social and political science faculties like public administration, mass communications, and especially with sociology. At the freshmen level "Introduction to Sociology" and "Indonesian Social System" are required courses, while political sociology, offered by the sociology department, is a required course for political science students. Political anthropology has been developed not at the social science faculty, but at the Faculty of Letters. The connection with economy is maintained through "Introduction to Economics" and "Indonesian Economic System" courses at the freshmen level, while a political economy course is given at the International Relations Department of some universities. "Introduction to Political Science" is a required course for students at the Faculty of Economics majoring in development economics. With the introduction of the new system a political science student will have a wide opportunity to choose from a variety of courses outside his particular discipline, both within his faculty, and at other faculties as well.

Although, as in many developing countries, Western ideas and concepts are clearly discernible at Indonesian universities, there are increasing efforts to develop material on Indonesian society and indigenous and traditional thought. At the University of Indonesia, "Classical Indonesian Political Thought" has been introduced from the very start. Of course, "Modern Indonesian Political Thought" is a required course of all political science curricula, while Islamic Political Thought is also featured.

If there is a variety in the names of the various social and political science faculties, so is there diversity in the fields of political science taught in Indonesia. For purposes of analysis it might be good to compare the situation with that pertaining in some Western countries.

In most Western countries, notably the United States, the study of political science is divided into two general fields, i.e. *a.* Government and Politics, and *b.* International Relations. In many universities, the two fields are combined in one department, sometimes called the department of government, the department of politics, or the department of political science.

In Indonesia, the University of Indonesia most closely resembles this pattern, in that the Political Science Department of the Faculty of Social and Political Science uses the same name, *Departemen Ilmu Politik,* and the same division. It consists of two sub-departments: *a.* Indonesian Government and Politics and *b.* International Relations and Area Studies. This pattern, developed in the 60s with the establishment of this Faculty, was later followed by few other universities.

Most universities, however, followed the lead of Gadjah Mada University which had developed a Department of International Relations and a Department of Governmental Studies *(Ilmu Pemerintahan).* The latter is not entirely different from the field of Government and Politics, but has a different emphasis. It combines aspects of public administration with a more formal approach to the study of Indonesian government (both national and local) and is more oriented towards practical problems of governing. These departments were created by Gadjah Mada University during the Revolution in order to produce diplomats and civil servants for the young struggling Republic.

Thus, it can be said that political science in Indonesia comprises three fields: a. Indonesian Politics, b. International Relations, and c. Governmental Studies. For the sake of uniformity we will, in a comparative context, use the term *Political Science* as the generic term which includes any of the three fields mentioned above, and *Political Science Department/Faculty* as the generic term for the department/faculty which covers any of these three fields, irrespective of the names used by each particular university.

As mentioned before political science is taught at ten state universities (Table 2). However, it is also taught at several private universities, foremost among which is the National University (Universitas National or UNAS) in Jakarta. It is also taught at the ten teachers colleges organized by the Government called *Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan* (IKIP) or Institutes of Teachers Training and Education. The introductory courses at their faculties of social science teaching include a combination of law and civics and in one case (Ujung Pandang) of law and Pancasila morality.

We will review the situations in the University of Indonesia, Gadjah Mada University, and Hasanuddin University.

Table 2. Social science faculties with political science departments

No.	*University and location*	*Fields of study in political science*		
		Indonesian politics	*International relations*	*Governmental studies*
1.	University of Indonesia, Jakarta	x	x	–
2.	Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta	–	x	x
3.	Hasanuddin University, Ujung Pandang	x	x	x
4.	Padjadjaran University, Bandung	–	x	x
5.	Diponegoro University, Semarang	–	–	x
6.	State University of Jember, Jember	–	x	–
7.	Sam Ratulangie University, Manado	x	–	x
8.	University of Riau, Pekanbaru	–	x	x
9.	Lambung Mangkurat University Banjarmasin	–	–	x
10.	Mulawarman University, Samarinda	–	–	x

In addition, we will give a short account of the Institute of Governmental Studies *(Institut Ilmu Pemerintahan)* in Jakarta, an important institution directly managed by the Ministry of the Interior and specifically geared to its needs.

University of Indonesia (UI)

The very first effort after the Proclamation of Independence to establish institutes of higher learning was the founding of the Indonesian Council of Higher Education *(Balai Perguruan Tinggi Indonesia)* on August 19, 1945 in Jakarta. It consisted of a Faculty of Medicine, a Faculty of Law, and a Faculty of Letters. However, it had a very short life, because, when the Dutch launched their first Military Action in 1947 and occupied the capital of Jakarta, the Council was closed down. It was to reopen three years later, when in 1950, a few months after the transfer of sovereignty, it merged with the Universiteit van Indonesia. The latter university had been established in Dutch occupied Jakarta in January 1946 and later founded branches in occupied territories outside Java. By the time it was taken over by the Indonesian government in 1950 it had eleven faculties with branches in Bandung, Bogor, Surabaya, and Makasar (presently called Ujung Pandang).

After a few years, some of these branches seceded and became the nucleus of newly established regional universities. For instance, in 1954 the Faculty of Medicine in Surabaya seceded and became part of the newly established Airlangga University (UNAIR). In the same way the Faculty of Economics in Ujung Pandang became part of the Hasanuddin University at the time of its establishment in 1956. In 1959, the Faculty of Technology and the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics in Bandung became the Institute of Technology (ITB) and in 1963 the Faculty of Agriculture and the Faculty of Veterinary Science in Bogor became the Institute of Agriculture (IPB). The eight remaining faculties were joined later by two faculties. i.e. the Faculty of Social Sciences (FIS) in 1968 and the Faculty of Public Health. At present the University of Indonesia has ten Faculties. In 1981, it had 13,147 students, compared to 8,352 in 1971.

The Faculty of Social Sciences had its embryo at the Faculty of Law. In 1959, in order to provide journalists with more advanced education, the government established a Department of Journalism *(Publisistik)* at the Faculty of Law. In 1962, it became the nucleus of the social science section established at the same Faculty which comprised, in addition to Journalism, the following departments : Political Science, Administrative Science (Public and Business), Sociology, Criminology and Social Welfare. In 1968, the Department became a separate Faculty.

At present, the Faculty of Social and Political Science has six Departments : Mass Communications, Political Science, Administrative Science (Public and Business), Sociology, Criminology and Social Welfare. In 1981 it had a student body of a little over 1,000, compared to 748 in 1971. It also had 135 lecturers, compared to 63 in 1971.

The Political Science Department is divided into two sub-departments, i.e. Sub-department of Indonesian Government and Politics and sub-department of Area Studies and International Relations. In 1981, the Department of Political Science had 133 students (compared to 36 in 1971 (Tables 3 and 4). It also had 28 lecturers (compared to 13 in 1971), making the teacher-student ratio 1 : 5. During the period of 1971 - 1981 interest among social science students to pursue political science studies rose from 4.81% to 13.09% (Table 5). In 1981, the total number of graduates was 94 (Table 6).

Gadjah Mada University (UGM)

Although officially, the Gadjah Mada University was founded in December 1949, it had its forerunner in the Gadjah Mada Council of Higher Education *(Balai Perguruan Tinggi Gadjah Mada)* established as early as March 1946 or less than one year after the Proclamation of Independence. In 1949, the Council merged with all other institutions of higher education in the Yogyakarta area that had sprung up in the meantime and became Gadjah Mada University with six faculties.

The main purpose of establishing Gadjah Mada University was "to provide Indonesian experts to replace foreigners employed in the various branches of government, including domestic civil service, diplomatic service and information services."[8] From its inception the University played a most important role in development of the Republic. No exact figures are available, but it is assummed that at the national level among government officials with university degrees, alumni from Gadjah Mada University form the largest single group. Many of them also formed the original teaching staff of most of the newly-established universities. In 1981, the University had 19,484 students, compared to 15,122 in 1971.

The Faculty of Political and Social Science established in 1955 also had its forerunner, i.e. the Political Science Academy *(Akademi Ilmu Politik)*, established in 1946. In 1950, the academy was incorporated into the Faculty of Law of Gadjah Mada University and became its Social and Political Science Department (SOSPOL). The Department consisted of three study programmes, i.e. Governmental Studies, International Relations, and Journalism. The Governmental Studies programme was discontinued in 1957 and was replaced by Public Administration. However, it was reinstated in 1964.

At present the Faculty of Social and Political Science (Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik) has six Departments: Public Administration, International Relations, Governmental Studies, Journalism, Sociology and Sociatry (approximately equivalent to Social Welfare). In 1981, the Faculty had 2,059 students, compared to 1,449 in 1971. It also had 64 lecturers in 1981 (Table 4), compared to 36 in 1971.

The International Relations and Governmental Studies departments together had 658 students, compared to 517 in 1971 (Table 3) and 25 lecturers, making the teacher-student ratio 1 : 26. During the period of 1971-1981 interest to pursue political science studies declined from 35.68% to 31.96% (Table 5). In 1981, the total number of graduates since 1971 was 375 (Table 6).

Hasanuddin University (UNHAS)

Hasanuddin University has a rather unique history. Established in July 1947 as a branch of the Universiteit van Indonesia, it had to be closed in 1950, because after the Transfer of Sovereignty, all Dutch professors returned to the Netherlands. Subsequently, several efforts were made to open new faculties, with a view to the eventual establishment of a university. Thus, in 1952 the Faculty of Law was established and in 1953 the Faculty of Economics reopened. Finally, in September 1956 the University of Hasanuddin was established. It now has five faculties. In 1981, it had 12,247 students, as compared to 5,504 in 1971.

In 1961, the Social and Political Science Faculty was established with the Faculty of Public Administration of the private University of 17th of August as its nucleus. At present the Faculty of Social and Political Science, called *Fakultas Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Budaya* or FISBUD, has seven social science Departments, i.e. Public Administration, Development Communications, Sociology of Development, Political Science, Governmental studies, Anthropology and History. In 1981, it had

1,054 students, compared to 655 in 1971. It also had 49 lecturers, compared to 37 in 1971 (Table 4).

In 1981, the Political Science and Governmental Studies Departments together had 327 students (Table 3) and 15 lecturers making the teacher-student ratio 1 : 22. Also, the total number of graduates had grown from 5 in 1971 to 185 in 1981 (Table 6). In the same year, 31.02% of the Social Science Faculty students had chosen Political Science and Governmental Studies as their fields of study (Table 5).

Institute of Governmental Studies *(Institute Ilmu Pemerintahan, IIP)*

The Institute of Governmental Studies was established in 1967 by the Minister of the Interior and Minister of Education, with the aim of providing training for civil servants to staff the government administration. In order to ensure academic quality, the Institute works in close co-operation with the Faculty of Social and Political Science of Gadjah Mada University. Also, many of its lecturers are Gadjah Mada graduates. In 1971, the Institute moved to Jakarta in order to be nearer to the centre of government. Most of its students are alumni of the various academies of Government Administration (APDN) with at least four years of civil service experience within the Ministry of the Interior after graduation from the APDN. The Institute's graduates play a very important role in the administrative apparatus.

Table 3. Number of students enrolled at political science departments of social and political science faculties of nine state universities 1971-1981

University	*Number of students enrolled at political science departments*										
	1971	*1972*	*1973*	*1974*	*1975*	*1976*	*1977*	*1978*	*1979*	*1980*	*1981*
University of Indonesia	36	48	62	60	73	75	82	91	120	127	133
Gadjah Mada University	517	458	404	386	394	433	445	479	539	605	658
Hasanuddin University	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	258	260	327
Padjadjaran University	121	124	132	159	157	151	194	264	324	396	626
Diponegoro University	186	170	239	261	295	346	377	418	404	405	355
State University of Jember	36	29	37	46	48	52	42	81	98	125	158
Sam Ratulangie University	–	–	–	–	–	42	90	156	166	249	377
University of Riau	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	133	216
Lambung Mangkurat University	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	114	132	159

Note: * Data not available.

Source: Universities concerned.

The Institute of Governmental Studies offers two years of education and it has six departments: Government Apparatus, Administration, Politics, Development, Agrarian Affairs, and Local Finance Administration.

In 1981, it had 449 students and 100 lecturers (compared to 16 in 1971). In 1981 it also had 206 graduates, compared to 13 in 1971.

Table 4. Number of permanent teaching staff at social and political science faculties and their political science departments of nine state universities 1971 and 1981*

No.	*University*		*Number of teaching staff*	
			Social science faculty	*Political science department*
1.	University of Indonesia	1971	63	13
		1981	135	28
2.	Gadjah Mada University	1971	36	12
		1981	64	25
3.	Hasanuddin University	1971	37	11
		1981	49	15
4.	Padjadjaran University	1971	49	15
		1981	109	33
5.	Diponegoro University	1971	20	5
		1981	45	13
6.	State University of Jember	1971	27	4
		1981	48	11
7.	Sam Ratulangie University	1971	41	0
		1981	62	15
8.	University of Riau	1971	9	0
		1981	39	15
9.	Lambung Mangkurat University	1971	7	0
		1981	16	4

Note: * Most universities also employ senior adjunct-lecturers to strengthen the teaching staff.

Source: Universities concerned.

II. MAJOR TRENDS IN TEACHING

1. The Organization of Political Science Teaching

As mentioned in Section I, Political Science teaching in Indonesia covers three fields: Indonesian Politics, International Relations, and Governmental Studies. Most universities offer one or two of the fields; some of them have a department teaching one field and some others combine two or even three fields into one department. In most cases, Governmental Studies is organized in a separate Department.

Political Science teaching in general has shown two dominant patterns, namely the pattern of the University of Indonesia (UI pattern) and the pattern of

Table 5. Number of social science students choosing political science studies at nine state universities – 1971 and 1981

No.	*University and year*		*Number of students*		
			Social science faculty	*Political science department*	
				Total	*%*
1.	University of Indonesia	1971	748	36	4.81
		1981	1,016	133	13.09
2.	Gadjah Mada University	1971	1,449	517	35.68
		1981	2,059	658	31.96
3.	Hasanuddin University	1971	655	*	–
		1981	1,054	327	31.02
4.	Padjadjaran University	1971	539	121	22.45
		1981	1,336	626	46.86
5.	Diponegoro University	1971	761	186	22.46
		1981	1,093	355	32.48
6.	State University of Jember	1971	329	36	10.94
		1981	1,352	158	11.69
7.	Sam Ratulangie University	1971	289	0	0
		1981	1,267	377	29.76
8.	University of Riau	1971	177	0	0
		1981	934	216	23.13
9.	Lambung Mangkurat University	1971	100	0	0
		1981	993	159	16.01

Note: * Data not available.

Source: Universities concerned.

the Gajah Mada University (UGM pattern). The UI pattern which is relatively new was established in the 60s, whereas the UGM pattern has been developed since the late 40s. The UI pattern shows that the teaching of political science is conducted by a department of political science consisting of two sub-departments called *programme studi* (study programme). The first sub-department deals with Indonesian Government and Politics and the second one with International Relations and Area Studies. Even though there are two sub-departments, most of the courses offered are the same.[9] Of the 28 required courses offered by the Department, 22 courses are courses that must be taken by all students regardless of their study programme. It means that there are only 6 courses which differentiate one study programme from the other. The 22 required courses shared by the two sub-departments, in fact, are basic courses for political science, such as Western Political Thought, Indonesian Political Forces, Indonesian Political Thought, or Indonesian Foreign Policy.

The division of political science at the University of Indonesia most resembles the division of political science in the American universities. The first

Table 6. Number of *"Sarjana"* graduates at political science departments of social and political science faculties of nine state universities – 1971-1981

University	*Number of* "Sarjana" *graduates at political science departments*											*Total number*
	1971	*1972*	*1973*	*1974*	*1975*	*1976*	*1977*	*1978*	*1979*	*1980*	*1981*	
University of Indonesia	3	4	3	7	16	2	8	10	17	16	8	94
Gadjah Mada University	23	33	41	26	30	32	26	12	41	64	47	375
Hasanuddin University	5	7	15	9	14	17	36	1	21	36	24	185
Padjadjaran University	0	0	0	3	9	9	18	11	24	28	35	137
Diponegoro University	13	10	7	1	6	8	13	26	22	47	31	184
State University of Jember	8	8	9	4	3	12	3	4	5	4	7	67
Sam Ratulangie University	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	12	12
University of Riau	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Lambung Mangkurat University	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1

Source: Universities concerned.

sub-department, the study programme of Indonesian Politics and Government is comparable to the study of American Politics at the American universities' departments of political science or departments of government. Whereas the sub-department of International Relations and Area Studies is similar to the study of International Relations of the American political science departments. Moreover, starting from the academic year of 1982-1983 the UI has added two more sub-departments to the existing two i.e. Political Theory and Comparative Politics. This new development makes the UI pattern even closer to the division of political science at most American universities.

The UGM pattern is different from that of the UI. Firstly, the study of International Relations is conducted by a department called Department of International Relations, which is one of the six departments of the Faculty of Social and Political Science of the Gadjah Mada University. Second, the UGM pattern has a department called the Department of Governmental Studies which is different from the sub-department of Indonesian Politics and Government of the UI pattern. As mentioned earlier, Governmental Studies is treated as a field of political science since some of the courses offered by the department are those usually found in a department of political science, such as Political Theory, Comparative Politics, and Political Development.[10] The difference between the sub-department of Indonesian Politics and Government of the UI pattern and the Department of Governmental Studies of the UGM pattern lies in the fact that the latter also offers some courses related closely to Administrative Science. Those courses, among others, are Organization and Management Theory, Public Policy, Public Financial Administration, and Project Management and Control. Such courses are not offered by the Department of Political Science at the University of Indonesia.

The inclusion of some courses usually offered by a Department of Administrative Science in the UGM pattern can be understood if one realizes the original objective of the Department of Governmental Studies of that university. The predecessor of the Faculty of Social and Political Science of Gadjah Mada University was the *Akademi Ilmu Politik.* (Academy of Political Science) founded in 1946 which had three departments: Governmental Studies, International Relations, and Journalism.[11] The *Akademi* was intended to produce civil servants, foreign affairs and information officials that were badly needed in the early period of Indonesia's Independence. Later the *Akademi* merged with the Faculty of Law when the Gadjah Mada University was established in 1949. The *Akademi* became the Social and Political Science Section of the Faculty of Law and Social and Political Science which in turn, in 1952, became the Faculty of Law, Economics, and Social and Political Science. In 1955, the Social and Political Section was separated in order to establish a new faculty, the Faculty of Social and Political Science which consisted, among others, of the original departments of the *Akademi Ilmu Politik.*

Even though its status has been changed many times, the Department of Governmental Studies and the Department of International Relations have remained intact; so have their objectives. The fact that the Department of Governmental Studies was abolished in 1957 and reestablished in 1964 shows that its services were still needed long after the nation's independence had been achieved. However, it was felt that its prospective alumni should also be familiar with the more technical aspects such as offered by some Administrative Science courses.

The UGM pattern has been followed by many universities in Java as well as on the other islands. The name "Political Science" is not used either for the name of a department or its part. It seems that the courses of the department of governmental studies and those of the department of international relations are not closely related, despite the fact that both can be categorized as fields of political science. Apart from courses like "Introductory Political Science" and the "Indonesian Political System" (or perhaps also "Comparative Politics"),–two courses that are required not only for students of both departments, but for all students of the Faculty of Social and Political Science – the departments do not share any courses.[12] Thus, there are no basic courses on political science shared by the two departments, as is the case in the department of political science at the University of Indonesia.

Aside from the two dominant patterns of political science, the University of Hassanuddin (UNHAS) in Ujung Pandang presents a combination of the two patterns. Political science teaching is conducted by the Fakultas Ilmu-ilmu Sosial dan Budaya (FISBUD or Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities). The faculty is divided into two programmes: the Social Science Programme and the Humanities Programme. The Social Science Programme contains 7 sub-programmes, one of which is the sub-programme of Political Science and Governmental Studies.

The name indicates that the sub-programme offers courses on political science as well as on governmental studies. These two fields of political science form two of the three *konsentrasi* (concentration); the other one being the concentration of international relations.[13] So, the social science programme of the FISBUD has some characteristics of the UI pattern as well as of the UGM pattern.

It has a section called political science which is similar to the UI pattern; it also has a section of governmental studies which presumably is inspired by the UGM pattern. Despite these similarities, it differs from the UI pattern in that it has a concentration of political science separated from the study of International Relations; and it differs from the UGM pattern since it acknowledges the existence of a political science concentration.

Closer to the UGM pattern, the three concentrations of the political science and governmental study sub-programme offer a small number of basic courses on political science which provide a political science basis for the three concentrations. In the case of the UI pattern, as mentioned earlier, the majority of the courses for its two study programmes are similar; there is only a small number of courses which form the specialization. So, it can be concluded that the two study programmes of the UI department of political science are closely related and less autonomous compared to their counterparts at the Gadjah Mada and Hasanuddin universities.

Almost all of the other social science faculties in Indonesia follow the UGM pattern. Some universities have their own department of governmental studies and department of international relations. Some have either one of the two. The duplication is not only in terms of the organization, but also in terms of the curriculum. This development is understandable since the University of Gadjah Mada is the oldest and the biggest university in Indonesia. Furthermore, most of the lecturers of the other social and political science faculties are Gadjah Mada alumni who tend to turn to their Alma Mater for guidance.

There is another institution that offers governmental studies, i.e. the *Institut Ilmu Pemerintahan* (Institute of Governmental Studies or IIP). Run by the Department of Interior, the objective of the Institute and its curriculum are similar to those of the Department of Governmental Studies of the Gadjah Mada University.[14] The only difference is that at the Institute all students are civil servants pursuing a degree. This means that the various departments of governmental studies are not the only institutions of higher learning producing middle-level civil servants. But it seems that, despite the presence of the Institute of Governmental Studies, the services of the various departments of governmental studies are still meaningful for the training of mid-level civil servants.

2. The Curriculum Of Political Science

The Political Science Curriculum of the University of Indonesia (UI)

From its inception as a department of the Faculty of Law in 1962 until August 1982, the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Indonesia has been using the old system of education whereby students during at least five years take a number of required courses (usually six in one semester), in a determined sequence, and arranged according to five levels of two semesters each. Students have to pass all courses in each level, before they can move on to the next one. After writing their thesis they receive the *Sarjana* or Doktorandus degree (generally considered equivalent to a Master's degree).

The students take general social studies during the first four semesters. At the beginning of the fourth semester they enter the department of their choice, but in actual practice only one course is in their particular discipline; the five others are still general and basic in nature.

The first basic phase of study includes introductory courses in the different social sciences, such as "Introductory Sociology" and "Introductory Political Science," and in order to explore their relationship and relevance, both theoretically and in actual practice, to the current Indonesian scene, they also take courses like Indonesian Social System, Indonesian Political System and so forth. In addition, they get two semesters each of social statistics and social research methods.

Thus, the students are provided with a well founded basic knowledge of the most prominent social sciences. It is felt that this phase of basic inter-disciplinary learning is important for the analysis of a developing society as Indonesia. In the fourth semester students who have chosen the political science department take "Introductory International Relations," in addition to five general courses.

As mentioned earlier, the department of political science has two study programmes i.e. the Study Programme of Indonesian Government and Politics and the Study Programme of International Relations and Area Studies. Every student chooses his/her study programme at the time he/she chooses the department of political science. The preceding discussion also shows that although there are two study programmes, they share most of the courses offered by the department. Thus, all students have a strong common political science basis. Some of the basic political science courses deal with theory such as Western Political Thought, Old and Modern Indonesian Political Thought, Islamic Political Thought, Theories in Comparative Politics, Theories of Political Development, and Political Sociology; some deal with International Politics, such as Indonesian Foreign Policy, Regional Co-operation and International Organizations, Societies of Southeast Asia, and Western and Socialist/Communist Political Systems; others deal with Indonesian studies such as Indonesian Political Forces and socio-economic development strategy. These courses provide a basis for more advanced courses offered by the study programmes of his choice in addition to giving an understanding of other study programmes.

Courses of the Study Programme of Indonesian Government and Politics are (1) Urban Politics in Indonesia, (2) Modern Indonesian Political History, (3) Consensus and Conflict in Indonesian Politics, (4) Bureaucracy, Politics, and Development in Indonesia, and (5) Parliament and Political Parties in Indonesia.

The courses of the Study Programme of International Relations and Area Studies include Theories in International Relations, International Economy, Malaysian and Singapore Political Systems, Philippine and Thai Political Systems, and East Asian Political Systems.

The UI Department of Political Science was the first in Indonesia to offer an intensive study on Southeast Asian political systems, especially Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines. Ever since its inception in the early 60s the Department has put special emphasis on the development of this branch of political science and this area, in addition to East-Asia, has been designated as a required topic for theses in this Programme. Moreover, the UI Department of Political Science was also the first to offer an intensive study on political theory, especially Indonesian Political Theory, classical and modern.

Even though the educational system basically calls for a programme of set and required courses, the students are also given the opportunity to choose three courses to complete their course work. These courses can be taken within the department but in a different study programme, to enchance the student's political science basis, or in a different department altogether, to widen his horizon.

Since its inception in the middle 70s the Study Programme of International Relations and Area Studies has attracted a growing number of students. In the two academic years of 1980-1981 and 1981-1982, about 90% of all students choosing department of political science joined the Study Programme of International Relations and Area Studies. There are several reasons for this tendency. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is in great need of university-educated people and a good number of UI political science alumni have joined and done well in the foreign service. Also of course, Jakarta is the right place to study International Relations since it is the centre of political and diplomatic life, and in many cases it is easier to get data on the international than on the domestic situation.

Beginning August 1982 the Faculty of Social Sciences is using the credit system as stipulated by the Decision of the Minister of Education and Culture No. 124/U/1979. One significant change is that the students will choose their departments at the time they register for the admission test. The students will be given freedom to choose their courses, but there are some limitations. There are still a number of required courses, some required by the Faculty, some by the department and a few by the Study Programme of their choice. Through these required courses the Faculty and the Department can hold the students responsible for a specified body of knowledge, while allowing the student to structure a programme in accordance with his needs and talents. Another restriction is that a few courses have to be taken in certain sequence. For instance, "Local Government and Politics" is a prerequisite for "Village Government and Politics."

Most of the basic social science courses, even after adjustment to the core curriculum determined by the Consortium of the Social Science, remain required courses, i.e. required by the Faculty to be taken by all students regardless of the department. These include introductory courses (such as "Introductory Political Science") and courses on Systems (such as Indonesian Political System) preferably taken in the first two semesters. Other required courses are supportive in nature, such as Indonesian and English language, social statistics and social research methods. Thus, the pattern of creating a wide social science basis will be more or less maintained.

In the political science curriculum the major change will be the addition of two new study programmes, i.e. Comparative Politics and Political Thought. In the latter study programme a number of new courses will be introduced. Other than the introduction of a number of new courses, the changes in the department's new curriculum are minor, involving mostly re-arrangement and expansion of existing courses.

In addition to the existing course offered in the old curriculum, Western Political Thought – renamed Survey of Western Political Thought – two new ones will be added i.e. Political Theory I: Liberalism, and Political Theory II: Socialism. The Overview course will serve as a kind of introduction to the two more advanced courses and is at the time a prerequisite for both of them.

In the field of Indonesian political thought a new course is introduced, i.e. Overview of Indonesian Political Thought, which – as is the case with the Overview course on Western Political Thought – will serve as an introductory course to the more advanced and already existing courses of Old Indonesian Political Thought and New Indonesian Political Thought. Both overview courses are required by the Department. Finally, another new course, Political Thought of Developing Countries, will give the students an opportunity to study some patterns of political thinking, especially in the Asian and African world. This course is required for the Study Programme on Political Thought. Finally, another new course, required by the Department, should be mentioned, i.e. Political Science Methodology.

The majority of the new courses are elective courses offered by the Department of Political Science. These include: Social-economic Change and Political Dynamics, Constitution and Political Structure, Political Systems of South Asia, Diplomatic History, and International Relations in the Asia-Pacific Region, Village Government and Politics, Political Economy, and Problems of Regional Co-operation in Southeast Asia. The course on Political Systems of South Asia, which was dropped in 1977 because of staffing problems, will be offered again, denoting the Department's emphasis on the study of the South Asia region. Finally the addition of a course on Problems of Regional Co-operation in Southeast Asia emphasizes once more UI's focus on Southeast Asia.

The Political Science Curriculum of Gadjah Mada University (UGM)

The differences in the system of education among universities in Indonesia are also apparent if one compares the UI curriculum with that of the UGM. The credit system was adopted by the Faculty of Political and Social Science of the Gadjah Mada University in 1974 when most of the other Indonesian universities were still using the package system. Unlike the UI Faculty of Social Science (up to August 1982), the UGM Faculty of Social and Political Science requires its students to choose their departments at the time of registration for the admission test. So, the students have to decide on their departments before they become students of the university.

The Department of International Relations of the Gadjah Mada University is quite different from that of the UI. The striking difference lies in the fact that the study of international relations at the UGM covers a much wider area of the world. Thus, the Department of International Relations offers courses dealing with areas such as Europe and the Middle East (the titles of the courses are Diplomatic History of Europe and Diplomatic History of the Middle East respectively). The wider scope of the UGM study of international relations is also indicated by the permission given to the students to write theses on every area of the world. By contrast, the UI study of international relations concentrates on two important areas, namely Southeast Asia and East Asia.

Even though the students of the UGM Faculty of Social and Political Science select their departments earlier, it does not mean that the Department of International Relations and the Department of Governmental Studies do not share any courses. Like in the case of the UI, there are also some courses that can be labelled basic social science courses. These courses constitute required courses which have to be taken by students of both departments (in most cases by students of all departments of the faculty). The number of the basic social science courses at the UI is higher (17 courses) compared to that of the UGM (12 courses). Thus, departments of the UI Faculty of Social Sciences have more courses in common compared to their counterparts at the UGM. This means that the UI put more emphasis on the basic social science courses compared to the UGM. And this situation did not change, even after the adoption of the new system as of August 1982.

If the study of international relations at the UI has a strong basis in the form of basic courses in political science which it shares with the other study programme, the study of international relations at the UGM shares fewer courses with its counterpart, the Department of Government Studies. Among its required courses, there are only three (Comparative Politics, Political Science Methodology, and Problems of the Developing Countries) which have to be taken by students of the Department of International Relations as well as by those of the Department of Governmental Studies. Other required courses of the Department of International Relations are either International Relations or General Political Science, such as General Political Ideas, Indonesian Political Ideas, and Public Opinion and Political Parties. These courses are given by the Department of International Relations and they are not required by the Department of Governmental Studies. The latter has a course (Political Theory) which is basically similar to the courses on General Political Ideas and Indonesian Political Ideas, but they are treated as different courses. The first is required for students of the Department of Governmental Studies and the other two are required for students of the Department of International Relations.

Beside the two courses on General Political Ideas and Indonesian Political Ideas, the Department of International Relations requires some courses on theory such as International Relations Theories, the Science of International Relations, and Theory on International Politics. Since the United States and the Soviet Union are two super-powers in international politics, the department includes two courses dealing respectively with the political system of the United States and that of the Soviet Union. However, there is no course on the political systems of other countries.

Another characteristic of the curriculum is that there are four courses on diplomatic history. One deals with the diplomatic history of Indonesia, the others are on diplomatic history of Europe, the Middle East, and the Far East. Since the courses are historical, they discuss past events and trends in the international relations of each subject. Study in law is also considered important and accordingly two courses are offered, namely International Law and International Civil Law.

If the UI Department of Political Science pays special attention to the Southeast-Asian region, the Department of International Relations of the UGM does not display a special regional focus. Neither is there a course on the Southeast-Asian region or parts of it (except for Indonesia). Aside from the differences, the two universities regard it important to include courses on International Economics, Indonesian Foreign Policy, and International Organization in their curriculum. Unlike the UGM curriculum of political science, the UI does not have special courses on diplomacy or diplomatic history. The study of diplomacy has been included in some other courses on international politics.

It has been mentioned earlier that the study at the Department of Governmental Studies is mainly intended to produce middle-level civil servants. To achieve this objective the curriculum provides for a number of practical courses such as Process and Techniques of Law-making, Development Planning, Decision-making Theories, Public Finance Policy, Project Management and Control, and Programme Administration. Since it is expected that most of the students will become government officials (especially civil servants), the curriculum also offers courses on Ethics in Government, Organization and Management Theories, Public Policy, Local Government, and the Relationship between Central and Local Government.

Of the courses offered by the Department of Governmental Studies there are only 6 courses comparable to the UI Department of Political Science. They are Local Government, Political Theory, Comparative Politics, Political Development, Political Forces in Indonesia, and Political Sociology. Other courses are not comparable. Except for Political Theory, all the others are comparable in terms of the title of the courses (and to some extent, their main contents). The study on political theory at the UI is offered by several courses dealing with Indonesian, Western, and Islamic political thought, whereas that of the UGM consists only of one course.

The number of students of the UGM departments of International Relations and Governmental Studies do not reflect the preference of the students as is the case at the UI until August 1982. This is because the students select their department at the time of the admission test registration and the number of students admitted depends on the capacity of the department concerned. In the academic years of 1979-1980 and 1980-1981 the numbers of students registered at the Department of International Relations (238 and 316 respectively) were lower than those of the Department of Governmental Studies (267 and 354 respectively).[15]

The absence of a standard curriculum for political science departments in Indonesia – in fact, it also applies to other branches of the social science – has been realized by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Thus, it has engaged the services of the Consortium of Social Science, an advisory body created by the Ministry, to develop a minimum standard curriculum for its various disciplines. Since a few years the representatives of the social science faculties of the University of Indonesia, Gadjah Mada University, Padjadjaran University and Hasanuddin University have had regular consultation meetings to agree on a core curriculum to be offered by all social science faculties. This core curriculum consists of two parts: one core curriculum of basic social science (including a course on *Pancasila*, the State Ideology) required for all departments and one core curriculum for each of the departments in the social science faculties. Thus, political science teaching has one core curriculum for the social science base and a core curriculum for each of the three fields of political science. All courses listed are required for all students of the existing political science departments and they are a prerequisite for the establishment of any new political science department in any of the three fields of political science. However, they reflect considerable areas of agreement among the major social science faculties and go a long way in the direction of standardizing political science curricula.

The core curriculum for political science departments contains ten courses, presumably the most important courses for political science teaching. With the introduction of the core curriculum, it is hoped that political science departments in Indonesia will have the same basic courses for political science. Beyond that, each political science department can develop its own curriculum depending on its own particular interests and objectives.

3. The Lecturers of Political Science

Two things may relate to the role of the lecturers: their quantity and their quality. The larger the number of lecturers vis-a-vis the students, the better the university concerned. The teacher-student ratio may be taken as an indicator: the smaller the ratio, the better the teaching conducted by the university. And this is even more true if the quality of the lecturers is good. One indicator of the quality is their degrees.

In Indonesia, three levels of degrees (excluding the bachelor's degree) may be discerned: the Doctorandus degree (or *Sarjana*), the Master's degree (or *Pasca Sarjana*), and the doctorate or Ph.D.

The ratio between the lecturers and the students of political science departments at seven universities can be seen from Table 9. The table shows that the University of Indonesia in 1981 had the most favourable ratio, namely 1 : 5. Gadjah Mada University had a ratio of 1 : 26, and Hasanuddin University's ratio was 1 : 22. It also shows that the ratio has not improved in the last ten years except for the case of the Diponegoro University. This means that in most cases the increase in the number of students — which at the seven universities has been considerable — has not been followed by a proportional increase in the number of lecturers.

In terms of academic qualifications of its lecturers, the UI also occupies the most favourable position among the three largest universities in Indonesia (the UI, the UGM, and the UNHAS) (Table 7). Among the 33 lecturers of the UI Department of Political Science, 8 lecturers have the degree of doctor, 12 hold master's degrees and the remainder has doctorandus degrees (mostly from the UI Department of Political Science). Moreover, its teaching staff includes the only Indonesian professor of political science in residence.

The number of doctorate and master's degree holders at the UGM is much smaller compared to that of the UI (two and four respectively), while the number of those having the degree of doctorandus is much higher. The table shows that if in the case of the UI the majority of its lecturers has more advanced degrees than the doctorandus degree the majority of the UGM political science lecturers (including some senior ones) consists of holders of the doctorandus degree. Since all holders of advanced degrees received their degrees from foreign universities (mainly American), the data indicate that there are fewer foreign-trained lecturers at the UGM political science department compared to the UI.

The data on the UNHAS political science lecturers also show a smaller number of lecturers holding advanced degrees; only six lecturers have master's degrees. The majority of the lecturers are holders of the doctorandus degree (mostly from the UNHAS), while two of them have a doctorate. Since the three universities are the largest universities with political science departments, it is understandable that the political science lecturers of the other universities are even less fortunate. The majority (if not all of them) has never been trained abroad or obtained higher degrees.

Among the holders of master's or doctor's degrees at the UI Department of Political Science (a total of 20 not including those presently studying abroad), 16 obtained their degrees from American universities and four from universities in Lebanon, India, Australia, and the Netherlands. At the UGM, the same tendency is visible, although not as clear. Of the six holders of Ph.D. and Master's degrees (not including those who are presently studying abroad), three received their degree from American universities and three from Singapore, the Philippines, and Great Britain. Even though the American-educated lecturers do not constitute the majority of lecturers with higher degrees, they constitute the largest single group. In the case of the UNHAS, the American-educated lecturers play a prominent role since all of the Master's degree holders graduated from American universities. The two Ph.D. holders received their degrees from Indonesian universities.

If those studying abroad are included in the analysis, the orientation toward American universities among the universities under discussion is even stronger. At present, there are six lecturers of the UI Political Science Department who are studying political science abroad, four of whom are pursuing Ph.D. and the other two master's degrees. Of the six, five are studying at American universities, whereas the other one is studying in Australia.

The situation at the UGM is not too different. Three out of the four lecturers studying abroad are pursuing Ph.D. degrees at American universities. The other one is studying at an Australian university. The return of the three prospective American Ph.D.s after completing their study will undoubtedly strengthen the teaching staff considerably.

The UNHAS is still far behind in its efforts to develop its political science lecturers. None of them is presently studying abroad. It seems that strengthening the political science faculty is not one of the highest priorities of the UNHAS. If this attitude is not changed in the years to come, the UNHAS political science may be left behind.

The large number of American-educated political scientists does not necessarily indicate a specific preference for study in the United States on the part of the lecturers. It has been the result of the consistent presence of scholarship programmes like Fulbright, or Rockefeller (especially for the UGM). However, it is not impossible that in the long run an American orientation towards the study of political science may develop.

Although, as it has been mentioned before, the degrees of Master and doctor can also be obtained from Indonesian universities, so far no Master's degrees in political science have been awarded in Indonesia. One of the UGM political science lecturers is taking a master's degree, but in a different discipline. At the level of Ph.D. study, there are three lecturers of the UI Political Science Department who are presently writing their doctoral dissertation. None of the UGM or the UNHAS political science lecturers is doing so. Thus, it seems that in terms of domestic doctoral programmes, the UI is also ahead of the other two universities.

Table 7. Number and degrees of teaching staff (permanent and adjunct) at political science departments of the three big universities

University	*Academic Title*		
	Doctorandus	*Master's Degree*	*Doctorate*
1. University of Indonesia	13	12 (1)	8 (4)
2. Gadjah Mada University	61 (41)	2	4 (1)
3. Hasanuddin University	43 (33)	6 (2)	2 (2)

The numbers within brackets indicate the number of adjunct lecturers, out of the total number of lecturers indicated.

III. TRENDS IN RESEARCH

1. The Status of Research in Indonesia

As has been stated above, according to the *Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi,* research constitutes the second duty of the university. This reflects the view that no university can afford not to engage in research, and that teaching and research are interrelated. Teaching motivates research, while research provides important data that can enhance the teaching process. Moreover, in a developing country research is of invaluable importance to supply the student with information about his own society.

Two types of research may be discerned: a) research based on research projects and executed by the teaching staff with or without the help of students, and b) research conducted by the students in support of thesis writing.

Research based on research projects can again be divided into two kinds: projects supported by research funds of the Faculty (e.g. the Ministry of Education and Culture), and projects supported by government agencies other than the Ministry of Education and Culture, and private agencies. The research projects sponsored by the faculty are usually based on a small budget and are often meant as a means of training for the teaching staff, especially the junior ones, and the students. The subjects are selected by the teaching staff or the faculty itself, and the researcher is usually free in the execution of his research. Moreover, all members of the team are from the university.

The research projects sponsored by government or private agencies are usually wider in scope and based on a larger budget. They have also become more frequent since there is a growing awareness that research is very important in the development process. The agencies usually do not have enough qualified researchers and therefore tend to co-operate with universities to use their manpower. The subjects of the research project are usually determined by the sponsor, and the university researchers are more limited in the execution of the project, since they are bound by the requirements set by the sponsor. Sometimes the latter requires its partner to accept some of its officials as member of the research team so that they can get a kind of on the job training in how to conduct a research. The universities have on the whole welcomed these projects because it gives them an opportunity to participate in important activities, while the lecturers can make their skills available, and receive additional income at the same time.

However, the increasing number of joint research projects has some drawbacks. The research skills of the lecturers are so sought after that some of the lecturers participate in three or four projects at the same time. Under these circumstances it is not always possible to produce a report of high quality. Sometimes the quality of teaching also suffers.

The second kind of research is the research executed by the students. In developing countries this kind of research, although admittedly it has its limitations in terms of quality, is a very important source of information on the society, especially in areas where even basic information is scarce. Moreover, since thesis writing is closely related to teaching, some trends may be discerned from studying the choice of thesis subjects. Therefore, some information on this type of research is included in this report.

2. Research based on Research Projects

It is difficult to know the exact number of research projects planned and executed by and within the universities or faculties.[16] Most universities (including the UI, the UGM, and the UNHAS) do not include this type of research in their list of researches; at least they do not make a distinction between the two types of research. From the scattered data it may be concluded that this type of research has a small budget and is treated as training for the lecturers and the students, so that it is not considered necessary to include it specifically in the list of researches. At the UI there are at least three researches of this type in the last five years. All are executed by students and supervised by lecturers. Two deal with international relations and the other one is on the role of the Indonesian People's Representative Council. In the list of researches conducted by the UGM Fakultas Sosial Politik, researches financed by its own budget are not included. At the UNHAS, there is a long list of researches either coming from outside or from within the university itself, but the list does not give further specifications, making it impossible to differentiate between the two.

Research projects originating from outside the campus are better documented. In the last five years (1977-1981), the UI Department of Political Science has conducted 11 researches dealing with various topics ranging from rural society to international politics. From the list of the researches (Table 8), some classifications of the topics of research can be made. There are three researches dealing with the political life of rural community, three on international relations and politics, two on Indonesian political development, and three dealing respectively with the Asahan project (a large project financed by Japan to construct a massive electric power plant in the Asahan River in North Sumatra), political and security problems faced by the Riau Islands located near the borders with Singapore and Malaysia, and the Indonesian Parliament.

The government or private agencies sponsoring research projects are also numerous. Three research projects were sponsored by the BAPPENAS (*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional* or the National Development Planning Agency), two by the Department of the Interior, two by the Department of Foreign Affairs, and one each by the Department of Education and Culture, the Department of Defense and Security, the People's Representative Council, and the National Council of the Indonesian Youth.

In the case of the UGM, there were 8 research projects executed by its departments of Governmental Studies and International Relations in the last five years (1977-1981). Since the research projects were in the form of co-operation between the UGM Faculty of Social and Political Science and outside agencies, the researchers were selected from the department (s) related to the topic of the research. The department most closely related to the research topic was then given full responsibility for conducting it.

All political science research projects (between 1977-1981) were conducted by the Department of Governmental Studies (Table 8). There is no research project conducted by the Department of International Relations, not even one sponsored by the Department of Foreign Affairs. Of 8 research projects, 4 were sponsored by the Ministry of the Interior which constituted the Ministry with the most research projects executed by the Department of Governmental Studies. The topics of research were either problems of regional autonomy or ideology and political life. Two research projects were sponsored by the People's Representative Council and two others by the Department of Security and Defense.

The UNHAS data on research projects have the same problem as those of the UGM. In the case of the UNHAS, the research projects were managed by the university instead of its faculties. The lecturers participating in the research projects were chosen from among the lecturers of the faculties or the programmes related to the topic of research. Thus, it is impossible to say that a certain project was conducted by a certain programme or sub-programme. Neither were there data available on the sponsors of the projects listed. Of the 10 research projects done by the UNHAS departments of political science, 5 were on local problems (South Sulawesi society), three on the problems of Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent, one on social participation in development, and one other on the general outlines of state policy. It seems that the research activities of the UNHAS are primarily focused on the local communities, such as Bugis and Makasar, which constitute the social and cultural environment of the university.

3. Research for Thesis Writing

Even though the data on thesis topics written at the UGM are not complete, especially those written in 1980 and 1981, most of the thesis topics written between 1971-1981 are available. These data are enough to be compared with those of the other universities in order to know the preference of the students in choosing thesis topics. The data on the UNHAS, the University of Padjadjaran (UNPAD), the State University of Jember (UNEJ) and the University of Sam Ratulangie (UNSRAT) are relatively complete to make a comparison among the universities possible, whereas those of the University of Diponegoro (UNDIP) do not include theses written in 1979-1981.

Table 9 indicates that 94 theses have been written at the UI Department of Political Science and 284 at the UGM. After classifying the topics of theses into several categories, the table shows that the largest number of students (28) at the UI have chosen the category of political forces as their thesis subject. Most of the theses were written before 1974, when the Department of Political Science was undivided and offered a mixture of Indonesian Government and International Relations Courses. All students were then required to write theses on Indonesian Government and Politics only. After a clear division was made in 1974 between Indonesian Government and Politics, and International Relations and Area Studies were the students allowed to write theses on international politics or political systems of other countries like Indonesian Foreign Policy, Southeast Asian region, and East Asia. Since there were many more students of the Study Programme of International Relations and Area Studies than of the Study Programme of Indonesian Government and Politics, it is no wonder that the number of students choosing those topics increased significantly. ASEAN's organization and its development were the topics of most theses of the Study Programme of International Relations and Area Studies written in 1975-1979. Only one student has so far written on East Asian Political Systems or international politics in that region, suggesting that students are much more interested in Southeast Asia.

At the UGM Department of Governmental Studies, the largest number of students (102 students out of 284) chose national and especially local government as thesis topics. Writing on national government and politics requires the students to go to Jakarta to collect data which involves time and money. For this reason, many students seem to prefer to study problems of local government in the areas of Yogyakarta and Central Java near the university.

For the students of the Department of International Relations, the most attractive topic was ASEAN and Southeast Asian Political Systems. This is similar to the situation at the UI. However, at the UGM more students than at the UI seemed interested in other areas such as East Asia, Europe, West Asia, and North America. This is in accordance with the Department of International Relations policy that students may write theses on every aspect of international politics and every region of the world, since there is no concentration on any specific area. At the UI

Department of Political Science, the international relations students are advised to concentrate on either Southeast Asia or East Asia. But they are not prohibited to write theses on other regions as long as supervisors, sufficient data and reading materials, are available.

The data on the UNHAS, the UNPAD, and the UNDIP show the same trend as that of the UGM. Since the first three universities have a Department of Governmental Studies, the largest number of students chose the category of national and local government. Like the case of the UGM, the large majority of topics are on local government. Thus it can be concluded that where a department of governmental studies exists, there is a strong tendency to write theses on local government.

UNHAS data show that the number of international relations theses is small, probably because the study of international relations is new. At the Padjadjaran University and the State University of Jember there are more theses on international relations, and among them Indonesian foreign policy and Southeast Asia seem to be popular topics. The Diponegoro university and the Sam Ratulangie University do not have departments of international relations, while the State University of Jember does not have a department of governmental studies.

IV. PROBLEMS OF THE PROFESSION

The problems of political scientists cannot be divorced from problems faced by other scientists and higher education institutions in general. The foregoing account of political science' teaching at nine universities and the comparison of the three biggest among them should therefore be put against the background of the situation of higher education in general.

As has been stated above, the sudden explosion of new universities which took place in the early 60s, created serious problems of equipment, but especially of staffing. The problem was compounded by the population explosion which hit higher education in the second part of the 60s. In the 80s the problems have become even more complicated. The following statistics may illustrate this.

In 1976, out of 99,000 high school students applying for admission at the state universities, 35,000 or 36% could be accommodated. However, in 1980 the number of high school students seeking admission had grown almost three times, i.e. 290,000, while only 53,000 or 18% could be admitted. Even then, it meant a steep rise of new students (from 35,000 to 53,000) for the same number of universities.[16] To alleviate the burden somewhat, the government is supporting private universities with funds and other facilities. And although their situation is on the whole even less favourable than that of the state universities, at least it increases educational opportunities for the thousands of highschool graduates looking for advanced education.

Thus, one of the more serious problems in higher education, if not the most serious one, is the lack of teaching staff. The situation can be summed up as follows: university lecturers are in short supply; many of them are in need of additional training; those who are available tend to be concentrated at the universities in Java rather than outside Java. The following figures cited in a recent statement of the Director General of Higher Education may illustrate the situation.

The total number of university teachers is about 19,300, while the total number of university students at state universities is about 251,000. Thus, the teacher-student ratio is a not unfavourable 1 : 13. However, the majority of them are juniors, below the "lektor" level. Those from the rank of "lektor" upward and those with additional advanced degrees number about 4,800. If they are compared with the total number of students the ratio becomes 1 : 52.[17]

These figures are admittedly depressing to the extreme. However, it should be realized that these are national averages and aggregates, and that the picture at established universities is much brighter. As has been shown before, at the University of Indonesia the ratio in 1981 of political science lecturers compared to the total number of political science students was 1 : 5, and that at Hasanuddin University 1 : 22. At the University of Indonesia also, the number of political science lecturers with advanced degrees compares favourably with that of the other departments in the same Faculty. Thus, the quality of political science teaching on the whole seems reasonably good if judged from the teacher-student ratio and the academic qualifications of the teaching staff.

Another problem in connection with university teachers is that they (and that of course includes political science teachers) find it necessary to supplement their salaries with additional earnings. They do this through outside teaching, or through consulting and research activities. And since research projects are becoming quite numerous and often require trips to the area under study, they take up a good part of the lecturers' time, thus often affecting the frequency and quality of their teaching. This situation of course compounds the problem of shortage of lecturers.

There have been numerous efforts to remedy the situation. One spectaculer programme of the Government to improve the quality of lecturers has been the promotion of Ph.D. studies, both in Indonesia and abroad. In addition to Ph.D. programmes abroad and in Indonesia, the programme provided for a kind of "sandwich programme" consisting of preparatory studies at an Indonesian University, followed by research abroad, and capped by an Indonesian doctorate. Inaugurated in 1976 and supported by the World Bank and other international agencies, it called for four hundred Ph.Ds in five years. Although the target has not been achieved, the programme has done much to boost the number of Ph.Ds. A number of political scientists have benefitted from the programme.

Lecturers at the Gadjah Mada University also had the benefit of the Rockefeller Foundation scholarship programme while other political scientists have utilized programmes like the Fulbright and ADAB scholarship programmes. Here of course, competition is stiff and the English test is a big hurdle. But since these programmes have been available for some time, in the long run they have played an important role in providing the political science world with a number of M.A.s and Ph.Ds, as has been shown in the previous section.

The problem of staffing is of course more serious in the universities outside Java, and the Government is making special efforts to solve it. A modest beginning has been made with a programme to attract young promising graduates from established universities to serve in universities outside Java through certain incentives. Gadjah Mada University, true to its tradition as supplier of academic manpower, has this year sent 24 graduates to eleven universities outside Java. The only political scientists involved in this programme are two International Relations graduates sent by Padjadjaran University to the University of Riau.[18] Although the programme is presently hampered by bureaucratic technicalities, in the long run it will be a source of great support for the smaller universities.

In addition, attempts are being made to induce senior lecturers from established universities to teach (for at least six months) at a small university. Although facilities like housing are being provided, the programme has not caught on well. So far only one professor from the Bogor Institute of Agriculture has committed himself to teach at Mulawarman University in Samarinda. There has been no response from political scientists.

One programme that has received a better response is the possibility to send junior lecturers from small universities to established universities for academic guidance by one or more senior lecturers for a certain period of time. In 1981/1982 37 junior lecturers went to Gadjah Mada University, but it is not known whether anyone in the political science field was included. Of the 24 who went to the University of Indonesia none is in political science.

One final problem is the question of language. One of the major events in this field happened at the beginning of the Japanese occupation in 1942, when with one stroke of the pen the Dutch language was banned and Japanese and *Bahasa* Indonesia became the official languages. For all practical purposes – since very few people knew Japanese – the Indonesian language became the official language throughout the country and the official medium of instruction at all levels of education.

This event which was widely considered as the partial fulfilment of the ideals of the nationalist movement which in 1928 already had declared that Indonesia was "one country, one nation with one language, *Bahasa* Indonesia", gave the Indonesian language a big boost in its development. As it grew it borrowed heavily from older languages like Sanskrit or its Old-Javanese version and modern languages such as Dutch and English, in order to adjust to modern concepts and phenomena.

However, a new problem has developed in that for a long time there were practically no textbooks available in the Indonesian language. Writing textbooks is no easy task and most lecturers qualified to write one cannot find the time. Numerous obligations outside and inside the campus (many university professors are ministers, or prominent persons in government and business) and low salaries create the necessity to seek additional income. Despite encouragement given by some universities, so far not enough textbooks in the Indonesian language have appeared.

It should be noted, however, that the malaise in original writing has somewhat changed for the better in the last two or three years. Lately, there has been a marked increase in the publication of books touching on a variety of political and social problems. Thus, it may not be too optimistic to expect the appearance of more Indonesian textbooks in the near future. There are also quite a number of social science periodicals which often include political science articles. The most notable among them is *Prisma*.

Another important obstacle in the development of political science is that much of the material useful for political science students is written in foreign languages. For instance, literature on the pre-war colonial society is written in Dutch which is not taught in schools anymore, while English is used in most modern social science publications. English, while officially declared Indonesia's second language, is nevertheless badly taught at the highschool level, so that university students have difficulty in reading English texts, especially those concerned with abstract theory. Thus, when confronted with a situation existing in contemporary Indonesian society, the students have difficulty in theoretically analysing the situation.

So far efforts to translate appropriate material in the Indonesian language have been severely limited by the prohibitive cost of translation and the scarcity of good translators. However, lately a number of non-profit organizations like OBOR and the Social Science Foundation (Yayasan Ilmu Ilmu Sosial), have made significant contributions in this field. The latter is even publishing a number of selected *sarjana* theses, in addition to a number of textbooks. However, general opinion is growing that the Government should embark on a large-scale translation programme to make all branches of science and technology more easily available to the growing body of students and the increasing number of interested laymen.

V. AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE

From the above it seems that political science education, compared to the average performance of the other sciences, is not in too bad a shape. It is spread over only ten universities and it has so far restrained from overextending itself. It has developed mainly on its own strength, without any large-scale support from outside Indonesia. However, if one looks at the results that have been achieved in economics, medicine (UI), and agriculture (IPB) through a consistent programme of co-operation with foreign universities, one has to draw the conclusion that this is the kind of support needed if political science were to play a significant role in the national development effort.

Ideally, support would take the form of co-operation with one or a number of universities which would include scholarships for advanced study abroad and in Indonesia (including "sandwich" programmes), foreign lecturers to stengthen Master's and Doctoral programmes. Support is also necessary for English language training in order to make good candidates sufficiently proficient in English to pass the various tests that are prerequisites for study abroad.

In addition, support should be given to a large-scale translation programme particularly to strengthen the courses that have already been designated by the various Consortia as core courses in each particular discipline. Thus, if selected well, each translation can have maximum impact.

It is our conviction that, if all these conditions are fulfilled, political science can make an important contribution to the nation.

Table 8. Research projects executed by political science departments of social science faculties in four state universities 1977-1981

University	*No.*	*Title of project*	*Co-operation with*	*Year*
University of Indonesia	1.	Factors influencing the Decision-Making Process in the Society of Pondok Jagung Village, Sub-District of Serpong.	National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS)	1977
	2.	Political Guidance and Development in Domestic Affairs (Team I).	Department of the Interior	1978
	3.	Political Guidance and Development in Domestic Affairs (Team II).	Department of the Interior	1978
	4.	The Impact of Political Socialization in Support of the National Political System in Rawaboni Village, Sub-District of Sepatan.	Department of Education and Culture, and National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS)	1978
	5.	China as a Political Problem.	Department of Education and Culture	1978
	6.	The Decision-Making Procedure in two Villages in the Sub-District of Sepatan.	Department of Education and Culture, and National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS)	1978
	7.	Special Committee of Indonesia/Malaysia border area (District of Riau Archipelago).	Department of Defence and Security	1978
	8.	Administrative and Financial Rights and Official Status of the Chairman and Members of the Indonesian People's Representative Council.	People's Representative Council	1979
	9.	Asahan Project.	National Council of the Indonesian Youth	1980
	10.	Japan's Power in Asia.	Department of Foreign Affairs	1981
	11.	Tendencies of the Non-Aligned Movement in the Eighties.	Department of Foreign Affairs	1981
Gadjah Mada University**	1.	Ideologies and their Implementation in Political Life (Governmental Policy).	Department of the Interior	1978
	2.	Ideologies and their Implementation in Political Life (Defence and Security).	Department of the Interior	1978
	3.	National Development Planning.	National Defense and Security Council	1978
	4.	Rights of the People's Representative Council in the fields of Finance, Administration, and Protocol.	People's Representative Council	1978
	5.	Regional Autonomy.	Department of the Interior	1978
	6.	Cultural Policy leading towards National Integration.	National Defense and Security Council	1979
	7.	Relations of the People's Representative Council (DPR) with the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), The President, the State Controlling Body (BPK), and the Supreme Advisory Body (DPA).	People's Representative Council	1980
	8.	Regional Autonomy.	Department of the Interior	1980

Table 8. *(continued)*

University	*No.*	*Title of project*	*Co-operation with*	*Year*
Hasanuddin	1.	The Problem of Indonesian Citizens of Chinese Descent in the Framework of National Integration: A Preliminary Study.	*	1977
	2.	The Enhancement of Active Participation in Development by Indonesian Citizens of Chinese Descent.	*	1977
	3.	Basic Framework of a Programme to enhance the Active Participation in Development by Indonesian Citizens of Chinese Descent.	*	1977
	4.	A Study of the Social Status of the Bajo people in South and Southeast Sulawesi.	*	1977
	5.	The role of Opinion Leaders in the Communication of Rural Development in South Sulawesi.	*	1977
	6.	The Impact of channelling of Inpres (Presidential Instruction Projects) Funds on the Efforts to enhance Social Participation in Development.	*	1977
	7.	The Attitude of the Society with regard to National Problems.	*	1978
	8.	Leadership in Rural Development (A Study about Village Leadership in Development in Siddo and Kelobajeng Villages, South Sulawesi Province).	*	1979
	9.	The Development of the Rural Social Institute (Lembaga Sosial Desa or LSD) in Siddo Village, Sub-District of Soppeng Riaja, District of Baru.	*	1980/ 1981
	10.	General outlines of State Policy: The Concept of a Global Strategy for the Management of National Interests in the next 20-30 years.	*	1980/ 1981

Table 8. *(continued)*

University	*No.*	*Title of project*	*Co-operation with*	*Year*
Padjadjaran University	1.	The Social Role of Informal Leaders in Political Life.	*	1977
	2.	An Evaluation of West-Java's Second Five Year Plan (PELITA II) and a projection of its Third Five Year Plan (PELITA III).	*	1977
	3.	Co-ordination of Regional Government Activities (I).	*	1979
	4.	Social Participation of Rural Society in West-Java: Village Co-operatives (KUD) and Village Enterprises (BUUD).	*	1980
	5.	Co-ordination of Regional Government Activities (II).	*	1980
	6.	The Role of the Governmental Apparatus in establishing Rural Participation in Development in West-Java.	*	1980
	7.	Service to Society: Guidance for Rural Administration.	*	1981
	8.	Development Project for the Greater Bandung Area in 1981.	*	1981
	9.	Political Development in the urban areas of Bandung.	*	1981

Note: * Data not available.
** 1981 data not available.

Source: Universities concerned.

Table 9. *"Sarjana"* thesis of political science departments at nine state universities 1971-1981

No.	*Specifications*	*"Sarjana" thesis of political science departments*								
		UI	*UGM*	*UNHAS*	*UNPAD*	*UNDIP*	*UNEJ*	*UNSRAT*	*UNRI*	*UNLAM*
1.	Political Forces (Political Parties, Mass & Labour Org., Etc.)	28	9	7	1	4	–	3	–	–
2.	National and Local Legislative Bodies, and Elections.	7	7	2	2	4	–	2	–	–
3.	National and Local Government.	8	102	168	45	69	–	2	–	1
4.	Political Theory.	5	2	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
5.	Indonesian Political History.	5	2	1	–	–	2	1	–	–
6.	National Security and Resilience.	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
7.	Indonesian Foreign Policy.	16	21	1	18	–	22	–	–	–
8.	ASEAN and Southeast Asian Political System.	20	33	1	15	–	16	–	–	–
9.	East Asia.	1	23	–	3	–	4	–	–	–
10.	West Asia.	–	15	–	10	–	6	–	–	–
11.	South Asia.	–	8	–	1	–	3	–	–	–
12.	Europe.	1	21	–	2	–	2	–	–	–
13.	North America (Including Canada).	1	14	–	4	–	3	–	–	–
14.	Latin America.	–	3	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
15.	Australasia.	–	8	–	2	–	1	–	–	–
16.	Africa.	–	3	–	1	–	1	–	–	–
17.	Etc.	1	13	5	18	1	6	2	–	–
	Number :	94	284**	185	122*	78***	67	12	–	1

Note: * Data not available.
** Data Governmental Studies (1980-1981) not available.
*** Data 1979-1981 not available.

Source: Universities concerned.

NOTES

[1] Sutjipto Wirosardjono, "Masalah Kependudukan di Indonesia" ("The Population Problem in Indonesia"), *Prisma*, February 1982, p. 11.

[2] S. M. Simorangkir, *Peranan Tenaga Akademik Inti dalam Pertumbuhan Perguruan Tinggi* (The Role of the Core Teaching Staff in the Development of Higher Education), (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis; Jakarta: IKIP, 1979), p. 10-11.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 44-45.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 162-172 passim.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 40-42.

[6] *"Pengarahan Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi pada Rapat Kerja Rekter Universitas/Institut Negeri Seluruh Indonesia* (Key-note Address of the Direktor General of Higher Education at the Meeting of Rectors of all State Universities/Institutes), February 21-24, 1982, p. 6.

[7] For an extensive discussion of some of the literature and prominent figures in the field of political science, see Alfian, "Political Science" in Koentjaraningrat (ed.), *The Social Sciences in Indonesia* (Jakarta: LIPI, 1979).

[8] Fakultas Sosial-Politik, Universitas Gadjah Mada, *Buku Peringatan ¼ Abad Fakultas Sosial-Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada* (The 25 Year Commemoration Book of the Faculty of Social and Political Science of the Gadjah Mada University), (Yogyakarta: Panitia Peringatan ¼ Abad Fakultas SOSPOL Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1980), p. 1-7.

[9] See Fakultas Ilmu Ilmu Sosial Universitas Indonesia, *Buku Pedoman 1978* (The 1978 Guidance Book), p. 57-58 for the curriculum of the faculty.

[10] Fakultas Sosial Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada, *Kurikulum dan Pembimbingan Studi Jurusan Pemerintahan, Tahun Akademi 1981/1982* (Curriculum and Study Guidance of the Department of Governmental Studies, Academic Year of 1981/1982), Mimeographed.

[11] Fakultas Sosial Politik, Universitas Gadjah Mada, *Op. Cit.*

[12] For the curriculum of the UGM Department of International Relations, see Fakultas Sosial Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada, *Kurikulum dan Silabus Jurusan Hubungan Internasional, Fakultas SOSPOL, Universitas Gadjah Mada* (Curriculum and Syllabus of the Department of International Relations of the Gadjah Mada University), mimeographed.

[13] The description of the FISBUD, its programme of Social Sciences, and its curriculum can be found in Pusat Kajian Ilmu Ilmu Sosial dan Sastra, Universitas Hasanuddin (Study Center for Social Sciences and Humanities, Hasanuddin University), *Konsep Kurikulum Strata 1 Programme Pendidikan Ilmu Ilmu Sosial dan Programme Pendidikan Ilmu Ilmu Sastra* (Draft of Curriculum of Strata 1 Study Programme of Social Sciences and Study Programme of Litterature), mimeographed.

[14] The history of the IIP and its curriculum are published in Institut Ilmu Pemerintahan (Institute of Governmental Studies), *Kurikulum dan Garis Besar Silabus Institut Ilmu Pemerintahan* (The Curriculum and the Outline of Syllabus of the Institute of Governmental Studies), mimeographed, 1980.

[15] See Fakultas Sosial-Politik Universitas Gadjah Mada, Buku Peringatan . . . . . , *Op. Cit.*, p. 13-14.

[16] *"Pengarahan Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi, Op. Cit.*, p. 5.

[17] *"Laporan Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi pada Rapat Kerja Rektor Universitas/Institut Negeri Seluruh Indonesia"* ("Report of the Director-General of Higher Education at the meeting of Rectors of all State Universities/Institutes"), February 21-24, 1982, p. 4.

[18] For a report on these manpower development programme, see S. M. Simorangkir, *Laporan Pelaksanaan Proyek Pengadaan Tenaga Akademis (PTA) Tahun 1981-1982* (Report on the execution of the Academic Manpower Project, PTA, 1981-1982), (Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture, June 1982), p. 6; 11; 13.

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SIX

PHILIPPINES: *Remigio E. Agpalo*

The history of political science in the country can be traced back to a significant period of Philippine history – the Propaganda Movement (1880-1895) and the Philippine Revolution (1896-1901) – and it could be characterized as a movement of the discipline in terms of focus on a subject matter and approaches to the study. In terms of focus, the discipline is moving away from the ***state*** and towards the ***political system;*** in terms of approaches, from the legalistic, institutional, historical, and normative approaches towards the systemic, sociological, processual, and behavioural approaches. The major trends indicate a development towards a more comprehensive political science and greater professionalization. The major problems arise from the inevitable difficulties and tribulations of a very young discipline with few professional practitioners in a modernizing polity beset by numerous problems. The agenda for the future naturally and logically are shaped by the discipline's major problems and trends.

I. BRIEF HISTORY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE PHILIPPINES

Although the major *ilustrados* or intellectuals of the Propaganda Movement and the Philippine Revolution during the period 1880-1901 of Philippine history did not regard themselves as practitioners of political science, they are actually the fathers of Philippine political science. These *ilustrados* are five – the triumvirate of the Propaganda Movement (Jose P. Rizal [1861-1896], Graciano Lopez Jaena [1856-1896], and Marcelo H. del Pilar [1850-1896]) and the duumvirate of the Philippine Revolution (Emilio Jacinto [1875-1897] and Apolinario Mabini [1864-1903]).

That these five intellectuals are indeed the fathers of Philippine political science is shown clearly in the major works of leading practitioners of political science in the country before and after World War II. Before World War II, Teodoro Kalaw (1918), the author of *Manual de Ciencia Politica,* highlighted the importance of the works of these *ilustrados* (T. Kalaw, 1920, 1924, 1931, 1930-38). After World War II, Cesar A. Majul (1960, 1967) likewise recognized the significance of the political and constitutional ideas of these intellectuals.

Of the triumvirate of the Propaganda Movement, Rizal was the most prolific, original, and comprehensive – definitely the greatest. An advocate of liberal democracy and modernization, Rizal expounded and analyzed his political ideas in several works, especially in his two essays – "The Indolence of the Filipinos" and "The Philippines a Century Hence" (Rizal, 1964: 227-265; 130-163); his two novels – *The Social Cancer* (Rizal, 1912) and *The Reign of Greed* (Rizal, 1918), and his constitution for the *Liga Filipina* (Rizal, 1964: 309-316). Based on the propositions on man, whose attributes are dignity, rationality, perfectability, and freedom, Rizal's political philosophy posits the progressive development of human society. The culmination of this progressive development is a new socio-political order, whose constituent elements are new men, who are nationally participant, oriented towards scientific and universalistic values, and truly self-confident and free. In such polity, agriculture, commerce, and industry would flourish, the arts and sciences would develop, and the laws would be wise and just. Education of the people is the means which brings about this new socio-political order, and, hence, Rizal's prescribed mode of social and political change is evolutionary instead of revolutionary (Agpalo, 1969).

Jaena and del Pilar are likewise exponents of liberal democracy like Rizal. Jaena's political ideas have been compiled and published in a book *Graciano Lopez Jaena: Speeches, Articles and Letters* (Jaena, 1974); and del Pilar's in appendices to a book *Marcelo H. del Pilar* (Gatmaitan, 1965). A book on the latter's political ideas has also been published (Zapanta, 1967).

Of the political thought of the duumvirate of the Philippine Revolution, Mabini's has been written about and analyzed more extensively and fully than Jacinto's (Majul, 1960 and Agpalo, 1976). Mabini's political thought is more extensive, comprehensive, and systematic than Jacinto's (Mabini, 1931; Santos, 1935). Like Rizal, these two political thinkers are likewise exponents of liberal democracy, for they were influenced significantly by Rizal. Jacinto's political writings have been compiled and published in *Buhay at mga Sinulat ni Emilio Jacinto* (Santos, 1935), and Mabini's in *La Revolucion Filipina* (Mabini, 1931).

The approach to politics by the fathers of Philippine political science is philosophical or normative. This was a major orientation of the tradition of Europe, which was the principal source of their political ideas.

The cession of the Philippines by Spain to the United States in 1898 and the defeat of the Filipinos in the Filipino-American War in 1901 paved the way for a new direction in the development of Philippine political science. The shift was from the philosophical or normative approach to the legalistic-institutional and pragmatic approaches, with a view to developing a science of government. This shift was inevitable because the Americans by the turn of the century had already established an American Political Science Association and developed a political science based on the legalistic and institutional approaches. The new direction in political science was effected by the Americans through the University of the Philippines, which was chartered in 1908. In the law establishing the University of the Philippines, one section provided that the Board of Regents shall have the power "to provide," among others, "a College of Social and Political Science."[1]

This College of Social and Political Science has never been established, although the provision has never been repealed, in the University of the Philippines. However, a Department of Political Science was established in the University in the College of Liberal Arts in 1915. Its first "Chief of the Department," as the designation of the head of the Department was called in the first few years of the Department, was George A. Malcolm, who had been appointed as Acting Dean of the

College of Law for the academic year 1912-1913. In 1916, Malcolm published a book, *The Government of the Philippine Islands.*

Since Malcolm is the American academic who charted the original direction of political science in the University of the Philippines and his book on Philippine government had been very influential in the development of Philippine political science, it is fruitful to quote from *The Government of the Philippine Islands.* This book magisterially declared:

> In modern political science, there is understood by "state," in its widest sense, an independent society, acknowledging no superior. The United States Supreme Court in an early case defined "state" as "a complete body of free persons united together for the common benefit, to enjoy peaceably what is their own and to do justice to others." A more comprehensive definition containing the essential constitutent elements is that a state is "a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite territory, independent of external control and possessing an organized government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience" [Malcolm, 1916 : 9].

The above quotation was deliberately chosen in order to indicate Malcolm's focus in the study of political science – the state, which is a juridical concept. His approach to the study of government is also obvious in the above quotation; it is legalistic, as indicated by citations of a definition of state from *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793), 2 Dall. (U.S.), 455, 1 L. Ed. 456; and Garner's *Introduction to Political Science.*[2]

The first Filipino student of politics to define political science adopting the Malcolm position was Teodoro M. Kalaw. In his *Manual de Ciencia Politica* in 1918, T.M. Kalaw said that the object of study of his book was "the nature and organization of the State, the structure and functions of the great branches of government, and the theory of political and civil liberties."[3]

The first Filipino political scientist with very profound influence in the development of Philippine political science is Maximo M. Kalaw, the younger brother of Teodoro M. Kalaw. Maximo M. Kalaw's great influence in the development of the discipline is based on the following facts: (1) He was the second of two staff members of the Department – the first was the Chief of the Department, Dean Malcolm – who originally manned the Department in the academic year 1915-1916 (Jamias, 1962: 99). (2) He was the first Filipino appointed as head of the Department; (3) During the formative years of the Department at the University of the Philippines, from 1920 to 1934, he was not only head of the Department but also the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts; (4) He was eminently qualified academically, for aside from his studies in the University of the Philippines, he had gone also to the United States, getting an LL.B. degree at Georgetown University in 1915 and an A.B. degree at George Washington University in 1916, studying special courses at the University of Wisconsin, and being honoured by the University of Michigan in 1924 with a Ph.D. degree. (5) He was the first Filipino Exchange Professor to an American university. (6) He was co-author, with Dean George A. Malcolm, of *Philippine Government* (Malcolm and Kalaw, 1923), which was formerly an approved textbook in the public schools. (7) He was also the author of other books, such as *Self-Government in the Philippines* (M. Kalaw, 1916a); *The Case for Filipinos* (M. Kalaw, 1916b); *The Development of Philippine Politics* (M. Kalaw, 1926);

and *Philippine Government* (M. Kalaw, 1948). (8) Finally, he was also very active and prominent in journalism and the public service: he was associate editor of the *Manila Times* in 1918; technical adviser to independence missions to the United States in the early 1930's, member of the National Assembly, and Secretary of the Department of Instruction and Information during the Osmeña administration.[4]

Like Malcolm and his older brother, the younger Kalaw also defined political science as a study focused on the state. He was also convinced of the practical value of political science. He said:

> The study of the state, and principally of its organ, the government – its development, organization, and functions – is . . . of vital importance especially to a people of a young republic that have assumed for themselves the supreme sovereign powers of a State [M. Kalaw, 1948 : 9].

The state-focused political science started by Malcolm and the Kalaws in the University of the Philippines was continued by subsequent students of government and politics, especially textbook authors of introduction to political science and Philippine government.

One of the earliest authors of such textbooks, Jose M. Aruego, who was also the most prominent Filipino political scientist after Maximo M. Kalaw before World War II and the post-war period until the 1940s, and early 1950s, published *Principles of Political Science* in 1932 and *Philippine Government in Action* in 1954. The preface of the former stated: "The aim has been to present within a single volume a general survey of the study of political science. The study begins and ends with the state" (Aruego, 1932, Rev. ed. 1947). The latter likewise revolves around the juridical concept of state. Both books had been revised at least three times in order to accommodate new data and developments, but in the revised editions the state focus of the textbooks had never been changed.

Other textbooks on Philippine government written by authors prominent either in academe or the government are *The Government of the Philippines* (Tolentino, 1950), *The Constitutional Government of the Philippines* (Fernando, 1951), *The Government of the Republic of the Philippines* (Tongko, 1960), *Philippine Government and Politics* (Pacis, 1962), and *Philippine Government* (Espina, 1981). The Tolentino textbook was published in 1950, and the one by Espina came off the press in 1981. The others were published between 1950 and 1981. All of them were analyzed in terms of the state, using the legalistic and institutional approaches.

Owing to the influence of Malcolm and the Kalaws and the impact of the textbooks on Philippine government, the state-focused political science has become firmly established in the Philippines, both in the private and public colleges and universities. However, this kind of political science has been challenged by political scientists with orientations in political sociology and political economy.

An example of critiques of the state-focused kind of political science by political scientists with orientations in political sociology is a paper delivered during the golden jubilee of the Department of Political Science of the University of the Philippines in 1965. The author of this paper argued that the focus on the state should be supplanted by new foci – the concepts of political system and political process. The reason given for this contention was:

> In our post-independence era, the State-focused kind of political science is no longer appropriate. Our problem now is no longer how to gain independence (to which problem the state-focused political science was appropriate, for it revolved around the concepts of sovereignty and rights), but how to modernize as a nation – economically, socially, and politically. It is not the rights and powers of government agencies and the people legally defined that ought to interest us primarily now, but the ways and means to develop and mobilize the resources of the nation and integrate the various sectors and groups which constitute the Philippine social and political system [Agpalo, 1966 : 60].

The author of the paper compared and contrasted the political science focused on the state, which was labelled the old political science, and the political science focused on the political system and political process, which was termed the new political science. He said:

> The old kind is essentially legalistic and static in approach. It is legalistic because it studies the juridical concept of State, the various forms of government, the branches and agencies of a government, their legal powers and limitations, the people as citizens or aliens, or as voters or non-voters, their legal rights and limitations, the idea and nature of sovereignty, the legal relationships between sovereign states, and the prerogatives and legal limitations of them. It is essentially static because it emphasizes legal structures and functions. . . . When it studies the dynamics of government, it studies procedures. Thus its analysis of legislation, administration, adjudication, and elections is mechanical. Legislation, for instance, is analyzed in terms of first reading, second reading, the rules of procedure or debate, third reading, the kinds of voting during third reading, and so forth. In elections, the same mechanical approach is adopted – registration of voters, who are and are not voters, qualifications and disqualifications of voters, voting, rules to be applied in counting the votes, and so forth. The interplay of social, economic, political and other forces in the political system are not stressed and may even be ignored. Thus, all the life, complexity, grimness, grace, confusion, and dynamism of politics are underplayed or disregarded.
>
> The new political science, on the other hand, is essentially sociological and dynamic. It studies the political system and the political process instead of the State. It stresses, instead of legal rights and authority, actual political behaviour and the social, economic, ideological, geographical, and other dynamic factors which affect it. It emphasizes political interaction and actual participation instead of legal relationships. But, it does not ignore or disregard the authority and rights of government agencies, citizens, and other political units or persons. They are also studied, except that they no longer constitute the main bulk of the analysis.
>
> Because of the divergent emphases and approaches of the old and the new political science, their methods and techniques of studying and understanding government and politics also differ. The old political science lays much emphasis on library study, analyzing legal documents, such as written constitutions, statutes, administrative rulings, and the like. The new political science frequently makes use of field survey, observation, and interviews [Agpalo, 1966 : 61-62].

The critiques of the state-focused political science by political scientists with orientations in political economy started appearing in the later 1960s and during the 1970s. Francisco Nemenzo, Jr. is one of the articulate and vigorous exponents of political science with orientations in political economy. During the third national conference of the Philippine Political Science Association in 1977, Nemenzo remarked:

> The mainstream of political science in the United States, as in the Philippines, has been an intellectualized expression of bourgeois ideology. At its formative stage, political science was hardly more than bourgeois jurisprudence reduced into liberal rhetorics, and there was a tendency to explain political realities in terms of the legal system. The so-called "traditional approach" gave rise to the impression that lawyers make the best teachers in political science.

> Over the last two decades, political science has, of course, become more sophisticated. The legalistic conception of reality has given way to more dynamic approaches. All this has made political science, alas, no less conservative. Our areas of concern have shifted from the study of formal rights to actual citizens' participation; from structures and legally prescribed functions of governmental agencies to patterns of political behaviour; etc.
>
> But studies along this line still leave unexamined and, therefore, uncriticized the foundations of the bourgeois social order [Nemenzo, 1977 : 3].

Accordingly, Nemenzo proposes that a political economy orientation should be followed by students of politics. The political economy preferred by Nemenzo is of Marxist variety; and the new foci of political science he prescribes are "*dependency and liberation,* the key concepts in current radical literature" (Nemenzo, 1977 : 4).

Of the two alternatives to political science focused on the State – political sociology (focused on political system and political process) and political economy (focused on dependency and liberation) – the former, partly owing to the fact that it was advocated earlier, is gradually growing in strength in the Philippines. Another reason why it has been gradually becoming stronger is that the professional practitioners of the discipline – Ph.D. degree holders, most of whom are graduates from American universities – are also increasing in number gradually. It must be noted that American universities were responsible for the behavioural revolution in political science in the 1950s and early 1960s. Most of these Ph.D. practitioners of Philippine political science were products of American universities during the behavioural revolution of political science. The two indicators of its gradual growth of strength are the increasing numbers of courses and increasing number of books published about political sociology in comparison to the numbers of courses and books published related to political economy. These will not be taken up here, for they are included in the next section on "Major Trends in Teaching and Research."

To complete the brief history of political science in the Philippines, data on students enrolled and graduated with degrees in political science, as well as the number of colleges and universities providing courses in political science, are required. Unfortunately, complete data on these matters are not readily available, for these have not been collected, collated, and summarized in systematic studies as needed for a comprehensive understanding of the state of political science in the country. What are presented below are necessarily those selected data which are available.

In 1976, Bulatao *et al.* reported that there were "40 state colleges and universities throughout the islands [i.e., the Philippines], as well as over 600 private colleges and universities, enrolling, as of 1972-73, a total of 720,000 students." (Bulatao *et al.,* 1979: 68). It is difficult, however, to estimate the number of students taking political science as courses or as a course of study in these private and public institutions of higher learning, although in most schools a course on Philippine government and politics is a required subject for all students. If they do not take up the subject, which is an introductory course in political science, they will not be allowed to graduate with a bachelor's degree.

It is a well-known fact, however, that there are only few universities in the Philippines with autonomous departments of political science. The oldest university in the Philippines, the University of Santo Tomas (which was founded in 1611), until now does not have an autonomous department of political science. Courses in political science in the University, however, are taught in a Department of Social Sciences. The most prestigious Catholic university with an autonomous department of political science – the Ateneo de Manila University – has a very small department, with a staff of only three faculty members. Among the Protestant-operated universities, Silliman University is certainly one of the best, but like the University of Santo Tomas, it still does not have an autonomous department of political science, although it does have a Department of Social Sciences. Among the non-sectarian universities, the University of the East and Far Eastern University perhaps have the largest autonomous departments of political science, but data of their students and graduates in political science are not readily available. The University of the Philippines has the oldest Department of Political Science in the country, which, as pointed out earlier, was established in 1915.

Data on college graduates in private schools with a bachelor's degree in Foreign Service and in Public Administration (which are actually political science degrees) – the table where these data were drawn does not include political science – are provided by Bulatao *et al.* for academic year 1969-70. Out of a grand total of 13,825 students who graduated in the private schools with degrees in various fields, there were 225 students with majors in the social sciences. Of these students, there were 45 graduates in political science, fifteen (15) of whom graduating with an A.B. Foreign Service and thirty (30) with a B.S. Public Administration. (Bulatao, *et al.*, 1979: 73).

The data presented above indicate that the private colleges and universities are not producers of graduates in political science. If some universities, like the University of the East and Far Eastern University, have a large staff of faculty members who belong to departments of political science, these departments appear to be primarily servicing only students who take up required introductory courses in political science (e.g., Philippine Government and Politics) but not taking care of students who are majors in political science. It is possible, of course, that Bulatao *et al.* have incomplete data in their table of graduates in the private schools in the liberal arts and sciences by major in 1969-1970. However, their source – Division of Evaluation, Research and Statistics, Bureau of Public Schools, *Statistical Bulletin, 1969-70* – appears to be reliable. And Bulatao *et al.* are professional social scientists.

This means that if one talks of political science in the Philippines, he must refer to political science in the University of the Philippines. We must now look into selected statistical data on political science students in the state university.

The first student enrolled in political science in the Department of Political Science of the state university to graduate with a bachelor's degree graduated in 1920.[5] There was only one graduate then. The first student to graduate with a master's degree in political science in the University of the Philippines graduated apparently in 1925.[6] The first student to graduate with a Ph.D. in political science graduated in 1970.[7]

In 1961-62, the Department of Political Science graduated the following number of students with the following degrees: Bachelor of Arts in Political Science – 46; Bachelor of Science in Foreign Service – 48; and Master of Arts in Political Science – 2.[8]

For the academic years 1969-1970 and 1970-1971, Arcellana provides the following statistical data:

> Our Department has been busy. . . . In 1969-1970 it services 1,013 A.B. majors and 523 Foreign Service students for a total of 1,536 undergraduates, plus 72 graduate students for a grand total of 1,608 students. These figures dipped somewhat in 1970-1971 to 710 A.B. majors and 358 Foreign Service students for a total of 1,068 undergraduates, and 84 graduate students (increase of 12) for a grand total of 1,152 political science upperclassmen. . . . In 1969-1970, there were 86 graduates of A.B. Political Science and 59 graduates of B.S. Foreign Service, degree courses administered by our Department. In 1970-1971 there were 81 graduates of A.B. Political Science and 34 graduates of B.S. Foreign Service [Arcellana, 1974 : 48].

In 1981, there were 357 undergraduate majors in A.B. Political Science and 36 in B.S. Foreign Service, as well as 75 graduate students, enrolled in the Department. The graduates in A.B. Political Science were 41 students; in B.S. Foreign Service, 9; in M.A. Political Science, 4; and Ph.D. Political Science, 1.[9]

II. MAJOR TRENDS IN TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE PHILIPPINES

Since the discipline of political science is not well-developed in the private colleges and universities, and since among state universities it is only the University of the Philippines that has a developed discipline of political science, the discussion of trends in the teaching of political science will be focused primarily on the trends in teaching at the state university.

As already pointed out in the first section of this paper, the Department of Political Science was established in 1915, and that its first "Chief of the Department" was Dean George A. Malcolm. In the first year of the Department in academic year 1915-1916, there were only five political science courses offered – Political Science 1-5. (Jamias, 1962: 99). By the next academic year, 1916-1917, these courses had doubled, Political Science 6-10 having been added. As listed in the *Catalogue, 1916-1917, Announcements 1917-1918* of the University, these ten political science courses were: Political Science 1. *Principles of Political Science;* Political Science 2. *Constitutional History;* Political Science 3. *American Government;* Political Science 4. *Philippine Government;* Political Science 5. *Oriental Governments;* Political Science 6. *European Governments;* Political Science 7. *Political Parties;* Political Science 8. *Municipal Government;* Political Science 9. *Theory and Practice of Legislation;* and Political Science 10. *Teachers' Course in Government.* These courses were taught by only two staff members, Dean Malcolm of the College of Law and Maximo M. Kalaw (U.P., 1917 : 113-114).

During the early 1920s, the courses of the Department doubled once more, Political Science 11-22 having been added. By this time, Maximo Kalaw was already the Head of the Department, as well as Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. The additional courses, as listed in the *General Catalogue 1922-1923, Announcements 1923-1924,* were: Political Science 11. *Diplomacy;* Political Science 12. *Constitutional Developments in China;* Political Science 13. *Chinese Diplomacy;* Political

Science 14. *Far Eastern Relations and Politics;* Political Science 15. *History of Political Thought;* Political Science 16. *Problems of Municipal Government;* Political Science 17. *International Law;* Political Science 18. *Current Political Problems;* Political Science 19. *Colonial Government;* Political Science 20. *History of Diplomacy;* Political Science 21. *American-Philippine Relations;* and Political Science 22. *Seminar in Political Science.* (U.P., 1923: 138-141).

By this period, the staff members of the Department had more than trebled in number, for the *General Catalogue 1922-1923* listed seven instead of only two staff members. Also, the scope of political science as taught had become comprehensive, for all the major fields of political science were already to be found in the political science curriculum of the Department – Political Institutions and Comparative Governments, Political Dynamics, International Relations, and Political Philosophy and Theory. However, it must be noted that there were only two courses in Political Dynamics – Political Science 7. *Political Parties* and Political Science 9. *Theory and Practice of Legislation* – and only one in Political Philosophy and Theory – Political Science 15. *Political Thought.* Practically, all of the twenty-two courses in political science of the Department dealt with Political Institutions and Comparative Governments and International Relations.

The general pattern of the courses in political science in the University of the Philippines as instituted by Malcolm and Kalaw during the formative years of the discipline between 1915 and 1925 remained essentially the same even after Kalaw's retirement as Head of the Department of Political Science and Dean of the College of Liberal Arts in 1934 until the outbreak of World War II in Asia in 1941 and even after the end of World War II in 1945 until the early 1950s. Some courses were abolished, others renamed, several renumbered, and a few were instituted, but by and large, the pattern remained essentially the same.

One of the few new courses instituted after World War II that is noteworthy is Political Science 107, *Geopolitics.* The description of the course in the Catalogue 1947-1948 of the University reads: "A study of political institutions as affected by geographical environments; brief review of forces and politics behind colonial expansions, trends towards international groupings which affect international relations and politics" (U.P., [1948]:131).

We take note of this course, which was introduced by Pedro L. Baldoria, a Ph.D. holder from the University of Southern California who joined the Department in 1947, for two important reasons. First, it was the most popular and influential course of the Department after World War II until the 1950s as indicated by the great number of students who studied under Dr. Baldoria and several master's theses written based on geopolitics. Second, it was an interdisciplinary approach (i.e., in terms of political geography) challenging the traditional interdisciplinary approach based on political law. However, after Dr. Baldoria's death in 1967 the course on geopolitics became dormant, and eventually it was abolished for lack of a faculty member sufficiently interested in teaching the course.

The decade of the 1950s is a significant period in the history of the Department of Political Science for two principal reasons. First, during the first half of the decade, the Department lost a major area – public administration. It was made an autonomous unit, becoming Institute of Public Administration in 1952 and later as the College of Public Administration. And second, there was a new development in the staff of the Department.

Until the first half of the decade of the 1950s, only Dr. Baldoria was the Ph.D. holder in the Department after the early Ph.D. holders of the Department were taken by the national government to serve the new Republic after its independence in 1946, or had retired or died in the later 1940s. However, by the second half of the decade, Dr. Baldoria could no longer be the only Ph.D. holder of the Department. Three faculty members of the Department taking up Ph.D. courses in the United States finished their doctoral studies one after the other in the later 1950s – Onofre D. Corpuz in 1956, Cesar A. Majul in 1957, and Remigio E. Agpalo in 1958.

Corpuz's major academic interests were political institutions and political theory. In the graduate programme, he introduced some courses on Philippine political institutions. In the undergraduate programme, his contributions were notable. He instituted a course on "Policy, Politics, and Government," described as "Meaning of politics as the process by which the community makes public decisions."[10] He transformed Political Science 2, *Constitutional History,* into Political Science 108, *Constitutional Systems."* And he instituted a new course, Political Science 121, *The Philippine Administrative System.*[11] Thus, Corpuz put more vigour to the theoretical, systemic, and systematic study of government and politics. Unfortunately, for the discipline of political science, he did not serve the Department of Political Science long enough to give it profound influence, for he was taken by the University Administration as Vice President for Administration in the early 1960s and eventually by the national government as national official, first as Undersecretary of the Department of Education in 1966 and later as Secretary of the Department of Education and then Minister of the Ministry of Education and Culture, as well as top official of other national bodies (e.g., President of the University of the Philippines and President of the Development Academy of the Philippines).

Majul's main academic interest was political philosophy. However, owing to the fact that he was originally connected with the Department of Philosophy, he could not give the Department of Political Science his full time. In fact, more of his time was given to the Department of Philosophy than to the Department of Political Science. Nevertheless, Majul introduced a new course in the graduate programme of the Department – a course on the political and constitutional ideas of the Philippine Revolution.

Agpalo became Academic Officer-in-Charge of the Discipline of Political Science[12] in 1961-1963, and Chairman of the Department of Political Science[13] in 1963-1966. Transforming Corpuz's "Policy, Politics, and Government" into a course on political sociology, now entitled "Society, Politics, and Government," and adding "Interest Groups" to the old course on political parties, as well as renaming the old course on research in political science as "Systematic Politics", Agpalo continued the Corpuz orientation in theoretical, systemic and systematic study of politics and government; and at the same time, he started the emphasis on the political sociology orientation of political science. In the graduate programme, he introduced several courses on political dynamics, political theory, and comparative government. Among the new courses which he introduced are: Political Movements, The Elite in Politics, Politics of Revolution, Politics of Modernization, Contemporary Problems in Political Dynamics, The Developing States, Totalitarian Governments, The Theory of Democracy, The Theory of Totalitarianism and Authoritarianism, The Roman Catholic Theory of Politics, Political Obligation, and Seminar on Plato and Aristotle. In 1965, he likewise led the Department in the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Department by holding an international conference on the twin themes of "Trends and Problems of Asian Governments and Politics" and "Political Science in Asia." This golden jubilee conference was attended by delegates not only from representative colleges and universities all over the Philippines but also by selected delegates from Japan, China, India, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, Australia, and the United States. He also started the adoption of a quintuple classification of areas of the courses in political science offered by the Department in both the undergraduate and graduate programmes. Based primarily on the International Political Science Association classification of the areas of political science in the 1950s,[14] the fields or areas of political science as adopted by the Department were: I. Political Dynamics; II. Comparative Governments; III. Philippine Government and Politics; IV. World Politics and International Law; and V. Political Theory and Methodology (Agpalo, 1966 : 64-66).

Since the 1960s, the curricular programme of the Department of Political Science has, by and large, stabilized, although some revisions of descriptions, occasional renumbering, a few institution, and some abolition of courses have been effected.

The most recent available publication of the courses, classified by areas, taught by the Department of Political Science appears in the *General Catalogue II 77/78* of the University of the Philippines System. As listed in this catalogue, the courses of the Department, grouped by fields or areas, are as follows (U.P., [1978] : 415-419):

1. Undergraduate

Introductory Courses and Philippine Government

1. Social and Political Thought
2. Political Science 11. Introduction to Political Science
3. Political Science 14. Philippine Government and Politics
4. Political Science 150. Philippine National and Local Administration
5. Political Science 151. The Philippine Executive
6. Political Science 152. Philippine Legislative System
7. Political Science 153. The Philippine Judicial System

Political Dynamics

8. Political Science 160. Society, Politics and Government

9. Political Science 161. Political Parties and Interest Groups
10. Political Science 163. Political Behaviour: Processes and Movements

Foreign and Comparative Government and Politics

11. Political Science 171. American Government and Politics
12. Political Science 172. Government and Politics of Selected European States
13. Political Science 173. Government and Politics of the Commonwealth of Nations
14. Political Science 177. Government and Politics of Asia I.
15. Political Science 178. Government and Politics of Asia II.
16. Political Science 179. Government and Politics of Asia III.

International Law, Organization, and Relations

17. Political Science 180. Philippine Foreign Policy
18. Political Science 181. American Foreign Policy
19. Political Science 182. International Politics
20. Political Science 183. International Organization
21. Political Science 184. Diplomatic and Consular Practice
22. Political Science 185. Public International Law
23. Political Science 186. Private International Law

Political Theory and Methodology

24. Political Science 190. Practicum
25. Political Science 192. Ancient and Medieval Political Theory
26. Political Science 193. Modern Political Theory
27. Political Science 194. American Political Theory
28. Political Science 195. Asian Political Thought
29. Political Science 196. Philippine Political Thought
30. Political Science 199. Research in Political Science

2. Graduate

Philippine Government, Politics and Administration

31. Political Science 250. Seminar in Philippine Administrative Problems
32. Political Science 251. Seminar in Philippine Political Institutions
33. Political Science 252. Seminar in Contemporary philippine Legislation
34. Political Science 254. Problems in Philippine Local Government
35. Political Science 255. Problems in Philippine Constitutional Law
36. Political Science 301. Seminar in Contemporary Philippine Governmental Problems

Political Dynamics

37. Political Science 260. Seminar in Political Dynamics
38. Political Science 261. Seminar in Political Parties, Elections, and Interest Groups

39. Political Science 262. The Elite in Politics
40. Political Science 263. Politics of Modernization
41. Political Science 313. Seminar in the Politics of Revolution

Foreign and Comparative Government and Politics

42. Political Science 271. Government and Politics of Latin America
43. Political Science 272. Government and Politics of West Asia
44. Political Science 272. Government and Politics of Sub-Sahara Africa
45. Political Science 277. Governments and Politics of Asia
46. Political Science 279. Seminar in Local Government and Administration in Asia
47. Political Science 320. Problems in Comparative Government and Politics
48. Political Science 323. Constitutional Governments
49. Political Science 324. Communist Political Systems
50. Political Science 325. The Developing States

International Law, Organization and Relations

51. Political Science 280. Problems in Philippine Relations
52. Political Science 282. Comparative Foreign Policy
53. Political Science 285. Problems in International Law
54. Political Science 330. Seminar in the Foreign Policy of the Major Powers
55. Political Science 331. Seminar in International Relations
56. Political Science 332. Regional Organizations and World Security
57. Political Science 333. Seminar in International Organizations

Political Theory and Methodology

58. Political Science 290. Seminar on Plato and Aristotle
59. Political Science 291. Seminar in Medieval Political Thought
60. Political Science 293. Political Obligation
61. Political Science 294. The Theory of Democracy
62. Political Science 295. Socialist and Communist Political Theory
63. Political Science 296. The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution
64. Political Science 299. Seminar in Political Science
65. Political Science 300. Thesis
66. Political Science 343. Seminar in Political Theory
67. Political Science 400. Dissertation

With regard to the present staff members of the Department, these have grown from two faculty members in 1915-1916 to twenty-four in 1982-1983. Of these present staff members, eight have Ph.D. degrees, fourteen have master's degrees, and two have bachelor's degrees. Of the two with bachelor's degrees, one is about to finish his masteral studies.

As regards the courses in political science taught in other colleges and universities, there is no need to go into detailed discussion, for either they have very few courses in political science, or if they have several courses, these are generally modeled after the course offerings at the University of the Philippines. At least two reasons may account for the University of the Philippines courses being used as models. First, the University of the Philippines has been the leading institution in the country in various academic fields, including the social sciences in general, and political science in particular. And second, several members teaching political science in the universities which have autonomous Departments of Political Science have graduated from the University of the Philippines.

We shall present a general profile of political science courses taught in various universities of the country as a conclusion to the discussion of the trends in teaching political science. The data we shall present are those gathered by Vigilia in a survey in 1968-1969 and 1971-1972 of seven universities and colleges from all important regions of the country: Northern Luzon – St. Louis University; Metropolitan Manila – University of the Philippines, Ateneo de Manila University, University of the East, and Philippine Christian College; Visayas – Silliman University; and Mindanao – Mindanao State University. In Vigilia's study, the quintuple-field classification of main areas of political science of the Department of Political Science of the University of the Philippines was adopted, adding a sixth field – public administration – "because it was considered by some of the institutions covered as another area although in U.P. it is a separate and more specialized field" (Vigilia, 1974 : 70-71).

Vigilia's findings on the courses in political science taught in the abovementioned seven colleges and universities are:

1) International Relations and Comparative Government were the most emphasized areas. International Relations subjects constituted 32.36 per cent of the total course offerings in 1968-69 and 31.79 per cent in 1971-72. For the same years, Comparative Government had 18.5 per cent.
2) Political Theory and Political Dynamics were stressed next with Political Theory accounting 15.6 per cent of total offerings for both academic years and Political Dynamics for 13.3 per cent in 1968-69 and 13.87 per cent in 1971-72.
3) Philippine Government and Politics and Public Administration were emphasized last with unvarying 15 and 20 subjects, respectively, in both academic years.
4) State-owned schools appeared to be more conscious of an equal emphasis on areas excepting Public Administration which is virtually nonexistent.
5) Private institutions have given a relatively heavier weight to only three areas, namely, Comparative Government, International Relations, and Public Administration.
6) Curricular changes during the two academic years were insignificant (Vigilia, 1974 : 71).

With regard to trends in research on Philippine political science, these could be surveyed by dividing the time span from 1915, when the Department of Political Science of the University of the Philippines was established, to 1981, into three periods: 1915-1945, the pre-war to World War II period; 1946-1965, the independence period up to the golden jubilee year of the Department of Political Science; and 1966-1981, the post-golden jubilee period until 1981, the year when martial law was lifted in the Philippines. These periods may also be called Period I, Period II, and Period III, respectively. For manageability, only the significant books and/or monographs on Philippine political science will be examined.

During the period 1915-1945, eight political scientists (four foreigners and four Filipinos) could be identified as having produced significant or at least creditable works in Philippine political science. The four foreigners were George A. Malcolm, Dapen Liang, Grayson Kirk, and Joseph Ralston Hayden. The four Filipinos were Teodoro M. Kalaw, Maximo M. Kalaw, Jose P. Laurel, Sr., and Jose M. Aruego.

Of the books written by the four Filipinos, only the major works of Maximo M. Kalaw were presented in full. We shall now identify the principal works in Philippine political science of the remaining three, with a brief statement of their academic and/or governmental career.

Teodoro M. Kalaw, who was earlier mentioned as the author of *Manual de Ciencia Politica* in 1918, was Editor of *El Renacimiento,* 1907-1909; member, Philippine Assembly, 1910-1913; Secretary, Philippine Assembly, 1913-1916; Director, National Library, 1916-1917 and 1929-1939, and Secretary of the Department of Interior, 1920-1922. He was also the author of *La Masoneria Filipina* (1920) and *La Revolucion Filipina* (1924), as well as the editor of *Epistolario Rizalino* (1930-38) and Apolinario Mabini's *La Revolucion Filipina* (1931).

Jose P. Laurel, Sr. taught in the Department of Political Science, as well as the College of Law, of the University of the Philippines. He also taught in National Teacher's College, and he founded the Lyceum of the Philippines. Having served as member of the Cabinet and of the Philippine Legislature during the American regime and during the Commonwealth era as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, as well as Secretary of Justice, Laurel likewise served the country as President of the Republic during the Japanese Occupation and Senator in the Congress of the Philippines after World War II.

Laurel's principal works in political science are in the areas of political philosophy or ideas and public law. His works in public law are: *The Election Law* (1922); *Local Government in the Philippine Islands* (1926); *Cases on Constitutional Law,* Vol. I (1925); *Cases on Constitutional Law,* Vol. II (1929); *Administrative Law and Practice,* (1932); *The Three Powers of Government Under the Philippine Constitution* (1936); *Philippine Constitutional Law* (Laurel and Malcolm, 1936); and *Philippine Law on Elections* (1940). Laurel's studies involving political ideas or philosophy are *Forces that Make a Nation Great* (1944); *Political and Moral Orientation* (1949); *Bread and Freedom* (1953); *Our Economy – What Can Be Done* (1956); *Thinking for Ourselves* (1958); and *Moral and Educational Orientation for Filipinos* (1959).

Jose M. Aruego was Dean and Professor of Political Science, College of

Liberal Arts, and Professor of Political Law and International Law, National Law College, of the University of Manila. He also served as delegate to the 1934-1935 Philippine Constitutional Convention and to the 1971-1972 Philippine Constitutional Convention. His principal works in political science, besides the two mentioned in the first section of this paper, are *The Framing of the Philippine Constitution,* Vols. I and II (1936, 1937); *International Documents for the Philippines* (1948); and *Philippine Government in Action and the Philippine Constitution* (1977).

In the case of Dean Malcolm, besides his books already mentioned in the first section, he also authored *The Commonwealth of the Philippines* (1936) and *First Malayan Republic* (1951). With regard to Liang, a Chinese political scientist who was a Visiting Professor of Political Science in the Department of Political Science in the 1950s, he was the author of *The Development of Philippine Politics* (Liang, 1939).

Kirk and Hayden are both American academics, the former not only a professor of political science but also at a later date, President of Columbia University; and the latter, a professor of political science at the University of Michigan. He also served as an Exchange Professor in the University of the Philippines and later as Vice Governor of the Philippines. Kirk's major work is *Philippine Independence* (1936); and that of Hayden, *The Philippines: A Study in National Development* (1942).

The approaches to the studies in political science in Period I were either in terms of political or public law, or political philosophy, or historical development. The focus was the state, either emerging or fully developed, or its agencies, leaders, and similar entities, or movements or transformations taking place within it. Whatever the approach or the focus of the study, in every case there was no attempt at systemic analysis. Even the movements or transformations within the state or the emerging state, which can lend themselves easily to systemic analysis, were studied in terms of historical development.

During the second period, from 1946 to 1965, there were twelve books on Philippine political science which are significant or at least creditable. Listed in chronological order, these books are: *The Philippine Presidential Election of 1953* (Coquia, 1955); *The Philippine Presidency* (Romani, 1956); *The Bureaucracy in the Philippines* (Corpuz, 1957); *Focus on the Barrio* (Abueva, 1959); *Magsaysay and the Philippine Peasantry* (Starner, 1961); *The Congress of the Philippines* (Rivera, 1962); *The Political Process and the Nationalization of the Retail Trade in the Philippines* (Agpalo, 1962); *Patterns in Decision-Making: Case Studies in Philippine Public Administration* (de Guzman, 1963); *The Philippines and the United States* (Taylor, 1964); *Politics in the Philippines* (Grossholtz, 1964); *Leaders, Factions, and Parties: The Structure of Philippine Politics* (Lande, 1965); and *The Philippines* (Corpuz, 1965).

If the political science outputs of Period I are compared to those of Period II, it is quite obvious that the outputs of the first period are either quite limited in scope, i.e., they cover specific subjects, such as Philippine Commonwealth or Philippine independence; or about norms, either descriptive (such as the election law) or prescriptive (such as values, ethical orientations, and the like). Moreover, they are either approached legalistically or historically. In the case of the outputs of the second period, however, while studies on specific subjects are still made, there is more variety of subjects examined and the approaches used are also more varied, not confined to legalistic and historical approaches. Decision-making and policy-making approaches are used (de Guzman, 1963 and Agpalo, 1962), as well as functional (Grossholtz, 1964), structural (Lande, 1965), interest-group analysis (Coquia, 1955; Starner, 1961; and Agpalo, 1962), institutional (Romani, 1956; and Corpuz, 1957), inter-state (Taylor, 1964), historical (Corpuz, 1965), and legalistic (Rivera, 1962) approaches.

During the third period, from 1966 to 1981, which is five years shorter than Period II, there are thirty books on political science published that could be assessed as significant or creditable. These books are likewise listed below in the chronological order of their publication.

The first fifteen of these books were published between 1966 and 1974. They include the following: *The City in Nation-Building* (Laquian, 1966); *The Development of an Interest Group* (Stauffer, 1966); *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution* (Majul, 1967); *U.S. Military Bases and Philippine American Relations* (Garcia, 1968); *Foundations and Dynamics of Filipino Government and Politics* (Abueva and de Guzman, 1969); *American Neo-Colonialism: Its Emergence in the Philippines and Asia* (Pomeroy, 1970); *Philippine Parties and Politics* (Liang, 1970); *Ramon Magsaysay: A Political Biography* (Abueva, 1971); *The Matrix of Policy in the Philippines* (Averch *et al.*, 1971); *International Law in Philippine Relations* (Fernandez, 1971); *The Political Elite and the People: A Study of Politics in Occidental Mindoro* (Agpalo, 1972); *Philippine Local Government: Issues, Problems, and Prospects* (de Guzman and Tapales, 1973); *Muslims in the Philippines* (Majul, 1973); *United States-Philippine Co-operation and Cross-Purposes* (Ventura, 1974); and *Towards a Southeast Asian Community* (Solidum, 1974).

The last fifteen of these books, published between 1975 and 1981, are the following: *Chinese-Philippine Diplomatic Relations, 1946-1975* (Hsiao, 1975); *The Philippine Congress: Causes of Structural Change* (Stauffer, 1975); *Parliamentary Government* (Espiritu, 1976); *The Huk Rebellion* (Kerkvliet, 1977); *The Philippines and the United States: The Forging of New Relations* (Fernandez, 1977); *The United States and the Philippines* (Buss, 1977); *The Philippines and Southeast Asia* (Kaul, 1978); *Of Citizens and Leaders: Reform and Government in a Suburban Setting* (Carino and Pacho, 1978); *Marcos and Martial Law in the Philippines* (Rosenberg, 1979); *Central Planning and the Expansion of Public Enterprise* (Espiritu, 1979); *Roots of Dependency: Political and Economic Revolution in 19th Century Philippines* (Fast and Richardson, 1979); *Islam and Development: A Collection of Essays* (Majul, 1980); *The Social and Political Thought of Claro M. Recto* (Arcellana, 1981); *The United States and the Philippines: A Study in Neo-Colonialism* (Shalom, 1981); and *Church-State Relations* (Yu and Bolasco, 1981).

It is obvious that in spite of the fact that Period III is five years shorter than Period II, the outputs of the third period are very much greater than those of the second period. In fact, books published in Period III increased by more than double of those published in Period II. It is also important to note that there was tremendous increase in research work on international relations. The study of local government units or their politics, which was introduced in Period II, also substantially increased in Period III. Studies on political instability (rebellion or revolution) and dynamic ideologies (nationalism, neocolonialism, and imperialism) had also emerged in the third period. Finally, political philosophy or political thought, which was prominent in Period I and virtually absent in Period II, had reappeared with vigour in Period III.

In general, the main trends indicated by the research outputs of Philippine political science from 1915 to 1981 as shown in the data of the three periods as presented above are: (1) development towards comprehensiveness, i.e., more and more areas/fields of political science are researched; (2) movement away from legalistic and institutional approaches and towards systemic and behavioural approaches; (3) adoption of new interdisciplinary areas of study, such as political sociology and political anthropology, besides the more traditional fields of political history, political law, and political philosophy; (4) development towards more explanatory, theoretical, or systematic studies; and (5) development, in more general terms, towards greater scientific rigour.

Before concluding this section, an observation on political economy as a new interdisciplinary field must also be noted. This new area is already emerging, for it has been advocated as an area to be researched since the 1970s by students of politics with interest in or appreciation of Marxist analysis.

As noted in the first section, Nemenzo had called attention to the significance of this kind of research. There are full-length studies on this new area already published (Fast and Richardson, 1979; and Shalom, 1981), but full-length books by Filipino political scientists have not yet appeared. However, some articles have been published and several mimeographed papers have been circulated and discussed during conferences, symposia, and the like. Samples of these works are as follows: "Dependency and Liberation: Focus on the Third World" (Nemenzo, Jr., 1978); "Rethinking the Philippine Social Formation: Some Problematic Concepts and Issues" (Rivera, 1982); and "Authoritarianism and Underdevelopment: Notes on the Political Order of a Dependent-Capitalist Filipino Mode" (Magno, 1982).

III. PROBLEMS OF PHILIPPINE POLITICAL SCIENCE

The major problems of Philippine political science are concerned with or related to the educational background of the faculty members teaching political science, the status and effectiveness of the professional association of Philippine political science, funding for the professional association and political science research, the role of political scientists in the society or the polity, and the linkage of Filipino political scientists to colleagues in foreign countries with a view to undertaking international research projects or effecting international understanding in the common enterprise of political science.

With regard to the educational background of the faculty members teaching political science in the Philippines, Vigilia's findings of a study of political science faculty members from seven Philippine universities and colleges in 1968-69 and 1970-71 are indicative of the educational profile of political scientists of the country. The faculty respondents in Vigilia's study in 1968-69 and 1970-71 were seventy-five (75) and sixty-eight (68) respectively.

Vigilia's findings are quoted below:

> 1) In the school year 1968-69, Master of Arts degree holders had the biggest share of the teaching staff with 38.67 per cent or, numerically, 29 teachers. This was also true in 1971-72.
>
> 2) Coming second were the Bachelor of Arts holders registering 26.47 per cent or numerically 18 teachers in both academic years.
>
> 3) Instructors with a law degree come third with 20.00 per cent and 19.13 per cent in the two academic years, respectively.
>
> 4) There was a relative scarcity of Doctoral degree holders and numerically they comprised the smallest group in the overall faculty set up with 17.33 per cent and 13.23 per cent in the two academic years, respectively (Vigilia, 1974 : 72).

Vigilia's findings, insofar as general profile of educational background of the faculty is concerned, are quite similar to the findings of another study by Rodolfo A. Bulatao, Abraham I. Felipe, Andrew B. Gonzales, F.S.C., Consuelo I. Gutierrez, Mariano D. Obias, Bonifacio S. Salamanca, and Zelda C. Ablan (hereafter Bulatao *et al.*) in 1976. The political scientists studied by Bulatao *et al.* are not the same or similar to those studied by Vigilia, for the former's population was composed of political scientists as listed in the secretariat of the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) in 1976. Nevertheless, the findings on their educational profile are useful, for they are corroborative of Vigilia's findings.

The findings of Bulatao *et al.* on the educational background of the seventy-nine (79) political scientists listed in the secretariat of the PSSC in 1976, by highest degree obtained, are: Bachelor's degree, 40; Master's degree, 23; and Doctorate, 16. (Bulatao *et al.*, 1979: 62).

If we define a *professional* political scientist as a practitioner of political science with a Ph.D. in political science or some other similar doctoral degree, which stipulative definition is justified by the fact that such a practitioner had the longest formal training on the substantive courses, methodology, and canons of ethics of political science and had already proven his competence in systematic research on politics and government by means of his doctoral dissertation, then the above two studies by Vigilia and by Bulatao *et al.* reveal that there are few professional political scientists in the Philippines, for there are only a few political scientists in the country with Ph.D. degrees in political science or some other similar doctoral degree. The main bulk – an overwhelming majority – is composed of faculty members with bachelor's, master's, and law degrees.

Considering that these faculty members with bachelor's, master's, and law degrees constitute the main bulk of the instructors of political science in the country, they cannot be expected, other things being equal, to provide the students with excellent training in political science. Considering further that the available textbooks are legalistic in orientation and content, political science as political law is perpetuated from decade to decade. Such a political science, therefore, is superficial, for law in modernizing or Third World countries is normally the manifestation of ideal relations – not the reality – of the society and its polity. In any case, if law reflects reality in such countries, in most cases, it reflects only a small part of reality.

The findings of Vigilia and Bulatao *et al.* on the educational background of the practitioners of political science should be read in conjunction with the findings of Vigilia to a question asked why students enrolled in political science courses took up those courses in order to appreciate the status of political science. The students' regard for political science, as revealed by the Vigilia study, is dismally low, perhaps owing to the fact that the students did not see a bright future in political science. In any case, political science was perceived by the students only as a means to an end, which indicates that political science has a lower status than other careers, such as law or even politics. Of the 465 students who participated in Vigilia's survey, the numbers and percentages of those giving answers to the question stated above were: "242 or 52.25 per cent answered, 'as a preparation for a law degree;' 146 or 31.40 per cent answered, 'as training for would-be politicians.' 'To have knowledge of the subject;' 'As preparation for teaching profession;' and 'to acquire research skills' had 28, 27, and 21 respondents, respectively." (Vigilia, 1974: 72).

Why are the professional practitioners of political science in the Philippines few? Part of the answer to this question is that of the forty (40) state universities and colleges and about six hundred (600) private colleges and universities throughout the country, there are only three universities offering courses leading to the doctorate degree in political science and/or public administration as late as 1976 – the University of the Philippines, Santo Tomas University, and Centro Escolar University. Even those higher institutions of learning offering a masteral degree in political science and/or public administration were only eleven – the University of the Philippines, Ateneo de Manila University, University of Santo Tomas, Far Eastern University, Manuel L. Quezon University, Philippine Women's University, University of Manila, Philippine College of Commerce, Arellano University, and Lyceum of the Philippines (Bulatao *et al.*, 1979: 68-72). More significantly, the students who are graduated with doctoral degrees from these institutions of higher learning are extremely limited. For instance, in academic year 1969-1970, there were only five (5) doctoral graduates. Those graduates with masteral degrees in the same academic year were only four (4) (Bulatao *et al.*, 1979 : 74).

Another reason why there are few graduates with doctoral degrees in political science and/or public administration is that the recruiting ground for doctoral students in political science and/or public administration – the students who have majored in and graduated with a bachelor degree in political science or similar discipline – are not numerous. In the private colleges and universities, the graduates with a bachelor's degree in political science or related discipline were only forty-five (45) for academic year 1969-1970; and at the University of the Philippines in the same academic year there were only eighty-six (86) in A.B. Political Science and only fifty-nine (59) in B.S. Foreign Service. (See data presented in "Brief History of

Political Science in the Philippines," *Supra.*)

The second problem of Philippine political science, which is concerned with the status and effectiveness of the professional organization of Filipino practitioners of political science, is intimately related to the first. Owing to the fact that the educational backgrounds of those who carry on teaching and research in political science are heterogeneous – very many are lawyers, more numerous than the lawyers are those with a bachelor's degree, and few Ph.D. holders – these practitioners of political science had been burdened by great difficulties in organizing themselves; and after they succeeded in organizing themselves, they have been saddled with great problems of maintaining an effective organization. The lawyers in the political science association naturally enough insist and persist in construing political science as political law; the few professional political scientists, advocating their magnificent obsessions – paradigms, ideologies, or conceptual frameworks – engage in sporadic academic conflicts among themselves; and the main bulk of the practitioners of political science – the bachelor's degree holders – carry on by providing the service courses to students who take political science courses – the introductory subjects – only because these are needed as preparatory courses for law or politics, or because they are required for graduation in education, business, and other career fields or professions. As a result, these bachelor degree holders, who constitute the main bulk of the practitioners of political science, have been condemned to carry on, year in and year out, teaching introductory courses. Consequently, they have been condemned to remain as instructors, getting very low salaries, and, therefore, also condemned to improving their incomes by taking so-called "over-load" courses or doing so-called "sidelines" (i.e., engaging in some odd jobs during off-hours, such as selling insurance policies and the like).

The overall consequences of all these facts are: (1) general apathy to the activities of the professional political science association in particular and the advancement of political science in general on the part of the main bulk of the practitioners of political science; (2) sporadic conflicts over academic or political issues among the professional political scientists; (3) a general feeling of frustration on the part of the leadership of the professional association; and (4) consequently, the low status of the association or of its general membership in the estimation of policymakers of the government or by society in general. However, a few political scientists as individual academics are highly regarded by the academe, the national government, and by civic organizations.

Thus, it took a long time for the practitioners of Philippine political science to organize a formal professional association. Although a Department of Political Science had been established in the University of the Philippines as early as 1915 and other departments were established in other universities thereafter, it was not until December 5, 1962 that the Philippine Political Science Association was established and incorporated (Agpalo, 1974 : 21).

The Philippine Political Science Association (PPSA) was organized as a "non-stock, non-profit, non-partisan, and non-sectarian" association (By-Laws of the PPSA, Art. II (2)). Its purpose, according to the original By-Laws, was "to promote, encourage, and support the objective and disinterested study of Political

Science which, according to Aristotle, is 'the most sovereign of the arts and sciences' " (By-Laws of the PPSA, Art. II (1). Besides, the Association "shall publish a Journal" and "shall establish and maintain contact with similar professional national and international organizations in the interest of mutual enlightenment" (By-Laws of the PPSA, Art. II (3) and (4)).

The charter officers of the Association were: President – Remigio E. Agpalo; Vice-President – Pedro L. Baldoria; Executive Secretary – Emerenciana Y. Arcellana; Treasurer – Avelina S. Salacup; Auditor – Alejandro M. Fernandez; Legal Officer – Quirino D. Carpio; and Chairman, Board of Editors (of the *Philippine Political Science Journal)* – Rex D. Drilon.[15]

The inaugural conference of the PPSA was held at the University of the Philippines on March 16, 1963, when the charter officers were also inducted to office. At the conference, there was a symposium on Philippine democracy. Attending the conference were all the members of the Department of Political Science and some faculty members of two other universities – Ateneo de Manila and the University of the East, who were the initial members of the Association, as well as several guests. After the inaugural speech of the newly inducted President on "Political Science and Its Challenge to the Association" (Agpalo, 1974) a keynote speech was delivered by an American Visiting Professor of Political Science to the University of the Philippines, Dr. Charles E. Martin. His speech was entitled "The Orbit of Political Science" (Martin, 1974). After the PPSA was launched in orbit during the morning session, the afternoon was devoted to the holding of a symposium. The papers read were: "Democracy and Philippine Culture," by Fr. Pacifico A. Ortiz, from the Ateneo de Manila; "Democracy and Philippine Politics," by Dr. Onofre D. Corpuz; and "Democracy and Philippine Foreign Policy," by the Honorable Salvador P. Lopez, from the Department of Foreign Affairs.[16]

By the third year of the PPSA and the golden jubilee of the Department of Political Science in 1965, the PPSA still did not have a journal. Two years later, when the Charter President was abroad as Visiting Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Hawaii and as a Senior Specialist at the East-West Center and when the incumbent President, Dr. Pedro L. Baldoria passed away, the PPSA gradually became so inactive that for all practical purposes it could be regarded as moribund.

It was not until 1973 that the PPSA was reactivated. Still, it took some time before it could be fully reactivated; and in 1976, *fourteen years* after it was established and *thirteen years* after its first conference was held, the PPSA held its *second* national conference!

The *Philippine Political Science Journal,* however, was launched in June, 1974. This maiden issue was devoted to "Political Science in the Philippines." Its editor and chairman of the Board of Editors then was Dr. Loretta Makasiar Sicat. The members of the Board of Editors then were: Roman Dubsky, Gabriel V. Iglesias, Estrella D. Solidum, Eva M.D. Ventura, and Wilfrido V. Villacorta.

Since 1976, the PPSA has become quite active. Since the principal activity of the PPSA is the holding of conferences, national and regional, basic data on these conferences, such as dates held, venues, and themes, are tabulated below. (See "Table of PPSA Conferences" next page.)

Still, this account of the professional association is incomplete if the sporadic conflicts within the PPSA are not brought out. For instance, in the No. 8, December, 1978 issue of the *Philippine Political Science Journal* (PPSJ), Art. II (1) of the By-Laws of the Association still provides: "It shall be the purpose of the Association to promote, encourage, and support the objective and disinterested study of Political Science, which, according to Aristotle, is 'the most sovereign of the arts and sciences' " (p. 186). However, this provision was amended drastically. The amendment, as put in the No. 9, June, 1979 issue of the *PPSJ*, states: "The Association shall promote, encourage, and support the study of Political Science." (p. 169). The significant words "objective and disinterested study" before "of Political Science" were removed, and the phrase "which, according to Aristotle, is 'the most sovereign of the arts and sciences' " after "Political Science" was deleted. During the meeting when the amendment was proposed and approved, the interested members among the charter members were not present. However, the original provision of the By-Laws – "This Association shall be non-stock, non-profit, nonpartisan, and non-sectarian." – was not touched. But this provision was scuttled by amendment in 1981. The interested members among the charter members this time were present in the meeting, and they made a vigorous attempt to save the provision.

Table 1 : of PPSA conferences

	Conferences		*Theme*
1.	Second National Conference, 1976, Quezon City	1.	"Political Science, Philippine Politics, and National Development"
2.	Third National Conference, 1977, Quezon City	2.	"Power and Social Responsibility"
3.	First Southern Philippines Regional Conference, 1978, Cotabato City	3.	"Political Integration and Nation-Building: Focus on Southern Philippines"
4.	First Western Visayas Regional Conference, 1978, Iloilo City	4.	"Development Politics: Philippine Perspectives"
5.	First Eastern Visayas Regional Conference, 1978, Tacloban City	5.	"Agenda for Regional Development"
6.	First Northern and Central Luzon Regional Conference, 1978, Baguio City	6.	"National Development and Regional Priorities"
7.	Fourth National Conference 1978, Quezon City	7.	"Politics of Development: Processes and Strategies"
8.	Second Eastern Visayas Regional Conference, 1980, Palo, Leyte	8.	"Dimensions of Regional Autonomy"
9.	Fifth National Conference, 1981, Zamboanga City	9.	"Political and Socio-Economic Changes and National Development"
10.	Sixth National Conference, 1982, Marawi City	10.	"Development Politics: Focus on Mindanao"

Sources: Various Issues of the *Philippine Political Science Journal* and Annual Reports of the PPSA.

Their efforts were in vain, for the contested provision in the By-Laws was deleted after heated debate and the counting of the votes.[17] To assuage the feelings of the concerned charter members, the word "disinterested" was readopted to modify "Political Science" in Art. II (1), such that this part of the By-Laws now reads: "The Association shall promote, encourage, and support the disinterested study of Political Science."[18]

The third major problem of Philippine political science is funding for the activities of the PPSA and the research projects of political scientists.

With regard to the first aspect – funding for the activities of the PPSA – the problem arises partly on account of the limited membership of the Association. Owing to this fact, members' dues, therefore, are insufficient to fund the national and regional operations of the organization. Funds could come from the government, either an agency or an official; but these would make the Association beholden to the government. Money could also be tapped from private corporations, but it would also undermine the academic integrity of the PPSA. Even funds from educational foundations – Ford, Rockefeller, and the like – could have the same effect on the Association.

In the end, the PPSA had to make compromises to cope with the perennial problem of funding. The Association would not accept funds from "political" agencies of the government, but it would accept from such agencies as the National Science Development Board, now reorganized and called the National Science and Technology Authority. It would also accept funds from UNESCO and the Philippine Social Science Council, a private, non-stock, non-profit, non-sectarian organization composed of representatives of eleven social science organizations[19] in the country, which was incorporated in 1968. The PPSA would also accept subsidiary supports from government officials, especially from the University of the Philippines (for instance, hosting a dinner for conference delegates).

As regards the second aspect – funding for research projects of political scientists – the same instability as it obtains in the first characterises this matter. The chief reason for this is that the main sources of funding for the first – the National Science and Technology Authority and the Philippine Social Science Council – are also the main sources for the second.

The source of funding of the National Science and Technology Authority (NSTA) is government appropriation in the national budget. The major sources of funding of the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) are the NSTA, Fund for Assistance to Private Education (FAPE), Ford Foundation, International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Philippine Institute for Development Studies (PIDS), and the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA).

However, since the PSSC provides funding to the several social science disciplines and their practitioners, and its funds after distribution to the member associations, are not really ample – since its incorporation in 1968 the PSSC has raised over ₱ 7 million for its programmes and projects (Villacorta, 1981: 13) – the PSSC actually is the source of funding for only a small number of political scientists applying for funding for their research projects. The same is true with the NSTA. For example, of the total funds of ₱ 3,126,574 allocated for various areas – agriculture, education, engineering and industry, food nutrition, medicine, natural sciences, and social sciences by the National Science Development Board (NSDB), now the NSTA, for research in 1981, the social sciences were alloted only ₱ 105,743, or 3.25 per cent, with most of the funds going to agriculture (55.55 per cent) and medicine (26.58 per cent) (David, [1982]; Table I). Since there are several social science disciplines competing for the ₱ 105,743 alloted to the social sciences, it follows that the practitioners of political science would get only a few thousand pesos.

The fourth major problem of Philippine political science is concerned with the roles of political scientists. Should they confine their activities to "objective" and "disinterested" studies of government and politics? Are there such things as objective and disinterested studies of political science? Is not every activity or study a manifestation of interest *per se?*

Should political scientists take on active citizen roles? Should they participate in political rallies, demonstrations, and the like? Should they join activist organizations, whether for or against the government?

Should political scientists accept consultancy jobs with the government or private corporations? Should they go on special detail, taking a leave of absence from their regular teaching assignments and accepting temporary jobs in the government? Should they serve as "resource persons" for various agencies and groups?

On the issue of "objective" and "disinterested" studies of government and politics, this has been debated by the members of the PPSA with growing vigour and even ideological ardour since the later 1960s. Instigated by Marxist and Aristotelian orientations of some members of the Association, it was aggravated by the declaration of martial law on September 21, 1972 and the regime of martial law itself from September 21, 1972 to January 17, 1981. The amendments of the By-Laws of the PPSA in 1978 and 1981 are some of the clear indications of vigorous debating on and partial resolutions of this on-going question.

The issue of "objective" and "disinterested" studies of political science has been debated also in terms of whether to adopt activist positions either for or against the government. In the early 1970s just before the declaration of martial law, those in favour of activist roles opted for joining political rallies and even manning the barricades in the campus. Those in favour of objective and disinterested approaches to the study of politics shunned joining political rallies and manning the barricades, although they were not against adopting a critical view of the government and its policies and getting involved and committed in the major political and social issues of the times, provided only that these are studied, analyzed, and assessed systematically and theoretically.

With regard to the roles of consultants, resource persons, commentators, and the like, Filipino political scientists cannot avoid them. The government needs the expertise of political scientists in various aspects of government and politics – local governments, domestic legislation, public opinion, interest groups, political parties, elections, public administration, administration of justice, political ideologies, forms of governments, world politics, international law and organization, foreign policy, and so on. The mass media – radio, TV, and the press – also need political scientists for the systematic analysis of major issues that emerge in public discourse. Interest groups, political parties, and other entities also seek the expert views of political scientists on various political problems which they encounter in the political process. In a developing country such as the Philippines, where various crises are regnant – crisis of identity, crisis of legitimacy, crisis of participation, crisis of distribution, and the like – the need for the expertise of political scientists by the government and non-governmental agencies or groups becomes even more necessary and urgent.

Arcellana provides specific illustrations of the various activities of political scientists as they play their roles of consultants, resource persons, advisers, and the like. She said:

> For our part, the Department of Political Science has tried to make itself useful nationally. Members of our Department have participated in various national undertakings and community projects. We serve as lecturers at the National Defense College of our Republic at Fort Bonifacio, the Air Force Command, as well as with the U.P. Extension at Clark Air Force Base. We have served as consultants and resource persons in various committees of the Constitutional Convention. We worked as consultants in the recent audit of our House of Representatives. We have taken part in committee hearings and written position papers and reports for executive and legislative bodies, e.g. the Senate Committee on Education's Research Council on Higher Education. We helped the Department of Foreign Affairs set up an in-service training programme, and have for years assisted it in the preparation of foreign service examinations; we are in the process of revising the foreign service curriculum drastically to meet national needs. We have accepted numerous invitations to speak before various professional and civic groups. We participated in radio and TV programmes like *Sandigan, Pulong Bayan*, and *Elections 69 and 70*. . . . We have counseled students and helped them get jobs and/or scholarships [Arcellana, 1974 : 46-47].

There is no doubt that all these services had been useful to the governmental agencies, professional organizations, the mass media, the general public, the students, and other groups. They had also boosted the morale and reputation of the political scientists, for their expertise in certain areas was recognized, their being needed by different groups or sectors of society and the agencies of government proven, and their participation in public affairs demonstrated. However, a serious question has to be asked: Do these activities or roles consume so much precious time of the political scientists that they have very little time and even energy left for serious research in political science?

Finally, the last major problem of Philippine political science has to do with international co-operation in the enterprise of political science. After all, political science is an international affair, and it develops through the contributions of political scientists from all nations.

The problem is that Filipino political scientists, including the few practitioners of the discipline who have produced significant works in Philippine political science, hardly have opportunities to participate in regular conferences of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) and similar international professional organizations, or to engage in an international effort to undertake research on political science topics which concern two or more countries, a region of the world, or even the whole of mankind. The principal reason for the first is lack of funding to attend such conferences; and the main cause of the second is lack of linkage with colleagues abroad who are interested in the same topics.

Since the 1960s more and more Filipino political scientists have been invited to and have participated in international conferences or symposia on some specific political science subject. Still, the participation of Filipino political scientists in international conferences remains intermittent, non-regular, and even insignificant.

However, the Philippine Political Science Association has been paving the way for more and more co-operative efforts with foreign political scientists and with the International Political Science Association ever since the PPSA became a member of the IPSA in 1978.[20] In 1982, for example, the PPSA hosted a Round Table for the Asian Research Committee of the IPSA in Manila. The PPSA also participated in the First National Social Science Congress, which took place in November, 1983.

IV. AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE

Political Science as a discipline is concerned, when viewed from the empirical perspective, with the structures and processes of the government, which is the central and regulative agency of either the political system or the state, as affected by its environment (immediate or distant, national or international, and whether social, economic, cultural or otherwise), and as affecting what individuals, groups, and agencies in the polity perceive to be the good life or justice. Normatively, it is concerned with justice itself as Aristotle, the father of political science, had posited. However viewed, whether from the empirical or normative perspective, it is a discipline whose contributions to human survival, welfare, and civilization are of critical importance.

If political science is not yet fully developed, as in the Philippines, as indicated by the data as high-lighted in its historical development, trends in teaching and research, and major problems, then it cannot contribute significantly to the understanding of one of the most important and strategic forces of society – the government – that is responsible for the basic needs of man – peace and order, economic well-being, freedom, and justice. It also cannot contribute significantly to the international enterprise of advancing the frontiers of knowledge and civilization.

It follows that the agenda for the future of political science in the Philippines must be on the strategies to be adopted in order to strengthen and develop political science more significantly. These strategies must be specified in order that they can be acted upon and the objectives are realized.

The first item in the agenda of Philippine political science is the training of large numbers of professionals of political science in the country in order to strengthen the discipline of political science. This item of the agenda is first in importance because the main cause of the underdeveloped state of political science in the Philippines is the small numbers of Ph.D. holders. Since the professional political scientists are few, there are only a few who could be expected to produce significant or creditable works in political science. Also owing to this fact, the teaching of political science courses in the forty state universities and colleges and about six hundred private colleges and universities inevitably has been taken up by bachelor-degree holders and those with masteral degrees, faculty members who cannot be expected to be the best teachers of political science, *ceteris paribus.*

What we are espousing for political science, in fact, is what the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) has advocated for the social sciences when the PSSC decided that the "training of large numbers of social scientists" and ensuring high academic standards shall receive "foremost consideration" in the PSSC agenda for the 1980s. The coincidence of the priorities of political science and the social sciences in the Philippines is natural and logical, for political science is representative of the social sciences of the country, especially when the development of the discipline and its major problems are concerned.

The next item in the agenda of Philippine political science is research. This is also obvious from the discussion of trends in research in Philippine political science. Although research in the discipline is becoming more comprehensive, systematic, and numerous, still it is a dismal fact that only eight political scientists, only four of whom are Filipinos, produced either significant or creditable political science literature in Period I (1915-1945); only twelve significant or creditable books in political science were published in Period II (1946-1965); and only thirty in Period III (1966-1981). This item of the agenda is directly and intimately related to the first, for only the training of large numbers of Ph.D. degree holders in political science will assure increased significant research in the discipline.

In the case of Philippine political science, the major research areas that should be given priority should be that of foreign governments and comparative political systems and politics; for this area, even in Period III of the development of Philippine political science research, has been hardly cultivated. The area of political theory and methodology should also be given emphasis. Needless to say, the areas of Philippine government and politics, political dynamics, and international relations, which are already well-tended, should be cultivated more extensively and intensively.

In the area of Philippine government and politics, there are specific research fields that should be given top priority. In view of the fact that a new form of regime has been established in the Philippines since the declaration of martial law in 1972 – a societal *pangulo* regime (Agpalo, 1981) – this regime and its politics should be fully researched with a view to producing a full-length book on the subject. Philippine political parties, interest groups, and public opinion should be given more time, funds, and projects for research. Domestic policies, the administration of justice, and elections should also be put in the agenda for research. The subject of human rights must like-wise be given high priority in the research agenda.

Former President Salvador P. Lopez, however, believes that "the subject of human rights" – human rights in their universal context as well in the specific Philippine setting" should be "the first item in the agenda of the social sciences in the 1980s" (Lopez, 1981 : 3).

Lopez asks and answers:

> What are my reasons for proposing that human rights be the first item on the agenda of the social sciences in the 80s? First, the question assaults the mind every day and hour of our conscious lives. We cannot ignore it and we cannot make it go away. We open the morning paper and going through the numbing habit of reading it has not dulled the questions that leap to the mind: How would a free, balanced and responsible newspaper write up the stories on terrorist bombing? Why are persons under arrest virtually condemned in the press, in advance of anytrial? Or you read that certain members of the *Batasang Pambansa* want to give emergency powers to President Marcos by statute, as if the amended Constitution which already gives him such powers weren't enough. Or that the Ministry of Education and Culture wants to place the University of the Philippines directly under its authority [Lopez, 1981 : 4].

The approach to research should not be confined to any particular approach, such as the sociological or philosophical (if in terms of discipline), or group or decision-making approach (if in terms of specific focus), or micropolitical or macropolitical (if scope is concerned). At the present development of Philippine political science, it will be undesirable and unwise to close the doors to different approaches. Explorations and applications of different approaches will be useful and fruitful in attempting to develop the appropriate approach to Philippine political science, especially if the area being studied and researched is that of Philippine government and politics. In any of these approaches, conceptual frameworks, paradigms, or models should be constructed, reformulated, and reassessed to fit the data being studied.

The third item of the agenda for Philippine political science is funding the activities of the PPSA and research projects of Filipino political scientists. At present, the PPSA is primarily funded by subsidies or contributions from NSTA and the PSSC, and a significant portion of the funding for the research projects of Filipino political scientists also comes from these two agencies.

The NSTA, however, as discussed in the section on "Problems of Philippine Political Science" appropriates only a small percentage of the total allotment of its budget for the social sciences, for the main bulk of the allotment is given to agriculture and medicine. The grants for the social sciences, therefore, must be increased significantly through persuading the governmental policymakers to increase the allotments for research in the social sciences, especially political science. This could be done best by the PPSA and the Department of Political Science of the University of the Philippines, for these two agencies have the organization and some prestigious political scientists to advocate such policy.

The PSSC has adopted the policy of subsidizing the publication of the professional journals of its regular members and giving financial support for the holding of national and regional conferences of its regular members, especially the least financially endowed. This PSSC policy has enabled the PPSA to hold most of its national and regional conferences, as well as to publish, more or less regularly, its journal, the *Philippine Political Science Journal.* This policy, therefore, should be continued. And since the PSSC is the regular source of funding of the Philippine Political Science Association, the funds of the PSSC should be greatly increased by tapping more funds from foundations, the national government, international educational organizations, and wealthy individuals and private corporations identified with one or more disciplines represented in the PSSC, either as a member of the discipline or disciplines or by activity. The latter two can be persuaded to give endowment funds to the PSSC by appealing to their sense of social responsibility and philanthropic spirit.

Last but not the least in the agenda of Philippine political science is the promotion and encouragement of internationally collaborative research work in political science. The IPSA should be persuaded to allocate a special fund to help young political science associations like the PPSA. Such fund could be used in taking care of the funding for transportation, room, board, and other miscellaneous expenses of political scientists representing the national political science association who are reading papers before or attending regular or special conference of the IPSA or some foreign political science association. The IPSA could also help the young national political science associations by providing fellowships for doctoral studies or post-doctoral research in foreign countries, or by making arrangements with well-established and financially well-off national political science associations to grant such fellowships to deserving members of young national political science associations.

There are other items that could be placed in the agenda of Philippine political science in the 1980s and beyond, but the above four are sufficient. It is not wise to proliferate the items. As a common but valid saying goes: "First things first."

NOTES

[1] [U.P.] *Catalogue 1914-1915, Announcements 1915-1916* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1915), p. 26. The full text of the law is at pp. 25-29.

[2] These citations are Malcolm's footnotes to the two definitions of state he quoted.

[3] Translation by this author of *"la naturaleza y organizacion del Estado, la constitucion y el funcionamiento de los poderes superiores de gobierno, y la teoria de las libertades publicas y civiles."* (T.M. Kalaw, 1918: 3).

[4] The above facts were taken from various sources, such as catalogues of the University of the Philippines, annual reports of the President of the University of the Philippines, a biographical sketch of Maximo M. Kalaw in *Builders of the New Philippines* (Galang, 1936), and other secondary sources.

[5] Remigio E. Agpalo, "Opening the Golden Jubilee Celebration and Remarks," June 14, 1965, University of the Philippines.

[6] The records of the University of the Philippines were destroyed during World War II when the original campus and buildings of the University in Manila were completely destroyed by bombing. The extant annual reports of the President of the University of the Philippines and other official records are incomplete, even at the archives of the University of the Philippines. Between 1920, when the Department graduated its first student with a bachelor's degree and 1923, there are no available annual reports at the archives. The annual report of the President from June 1, 1924 to May 31, 1925, however, is available. On page 44 of this report, it says: "Last academic year, the University conferred upon recommendation of this committee [on graduate studies], twelve master's degree: 1 in political science. . . ."

[7] Curriculum Vitae of Dr. Emerenciana Y. Arcellana.

[8] See footnote No. 5 above.

[9] *Annual Report of the Department of Political Science*, University of the Philippines, Current Year 1981. The small number of students who graduated in comparison to very much greater number of students enrolled is explained by the fact that an enrolled student may be counted four or five times, depending upon the number of courses he was enrolled in. The very small number of graduates in B.S. Foreign Service is due to the fact that this programme was abolished in 1978.

[10] [U.P.] *General Catalogue 1958-1959, Announcements 1959-1960* (Quezon City: 1958), p. 217.

[11] [U.P.] *General Catalogue 1963-1964, Announcements 1964-1965* (Quezon City: 1963), p. 259.

[12] The Departments (of the College of Liberal Arts, which was reorganized to form three colleges – the University College, the College of Arts and Sciences, and the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences –) were abolished at that time and transformed into Disciplines.

[13] The three colleges that sprung from the College of Liberal Arts were brought together again as College of Arts and Sciences at that time, and the Disciplines were called Departments once more.

[14] According to Robson in a study published by UNESCO in 1954, the main areas of political science as laid down by the International Political Science Association are: (1) Political Theory; (2) Government; (3) Parties, Groups, and Public Opinion; and (4) International Relations. (p. 183)

[15] *Manila Times,* August 9, 1962, p. 6-A.

[16] Philippine Political Science Association, "Inaugural Programme and Symposium," March 16, 1963.

[17] See Shirley C. Advincula, "Report of Activities of the Philippine Political Science Association For 1981-82," and copy of "By-Laws of the Philippine Political Science Association," as amended on 1 August 1981 and 15 August 1981.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] These eleven social science organizations are: Linguistic Society of the Philippines, Philippine Association of Social Workers, Philippine Economic Society, Philippine Geographical Society, Philippine National Historical Society, Philippine Political Science Association, Philippine Society for Public Administration, Philippine Sociological Society, Philippine Statistical Association, Psychological Association of the Philippines, and Anthropological Association of the Philippines. Besides these 11 regular members, the PSSC has 17 associate members, such as the Institute of Philippine Culture (Ateneo de Manila University), Law Center (University of the Philippines), and Research Institute for Mindanao Culture (Xavier University).

[20] Interview with Dr. Loretta Makasiar-Sicat, April 11, 1983.

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SEVEN

MALAYSIA: *J. Sarvanamuttu*
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I. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE DISCIPLINE

1. Introduction

It is difficult to date the origins of "Political Science" as an academic discipline in Malaysia. It was in Singapore that a department of political science was first established in 1958 in the then University of Malaya. In Malaysia itself, courses and programmes taught by political science scholars and teachers in the University of Malaya formed in 1959, received no such appellation and up till today the term "political science" has yet to be used there. This peculiar situation has a well-known history which is easily surmised by talking with senior political science staff teaching or who used to teach at the University of Malaya. The "political science" appellation was apparently considered too political as there were fears that the subject might erroneously be viewed as being possibly "subversive" to national interests. One is reminded that this probably reflected the political climate of Malaya at the time of independence and continuance of the "Emergency" (campaign against the Communists) until 1960. The prejudice and misconception about political science led to its being "smuggled into" the Public Administration division of the Faculty of Economics and Administration and into the Department of History within the Faculty of Arts. This "twilight existence"[1] of the discipline persists at University of Malaya long after such a false perception of it has evaporated. However, a move to create a full-fledged political science department has been proposed to the Board of Studies in 1977 but has yet to materialise.[2]

It has been left to two other universities, Universiti Sains Malaysia (Science University) formed in 1969, and Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (National University) established in 1970, to accord the subject of political science a full-fledged or independent status in university education. With the formation of the School of Comparative Social Sciences[3] in USM in 1970, political science was instituted a core discipline along with economics, sociology, anthropology, and the multi-disciplinary ethnic relations, urban studies and rural studies. While the thrust of the School was "to facilitate a good interdisciplinary grounding in the social sciences" it gave "due recognition to the value of some specialization in the different disciplines," thus providing for students to major in political science up till today. The only current Department of Political Science, however, appeared on the scene in February 1976 within the Faculty of Social Science and Humanities (or Arts) of Universiti Kebangsaan. The stated objective of the department was to provide teaching in the various subfields of political science.

Other tertiary institutions where political science offerings can be found (although again not by name) are the Mara Institute of Technology (ITM) and the National Institute of Public Administration (INTAN). ITM's School of Administration and Law offers a 3-year diploma in Public Administration to train *Bumiputras* (Malays and other indigenous Malaysians) for government Division II positions covering such ground as Comparative Government, Development Administration, Social Change, and Constitutional Law. INTAN, on the other hand, provides a battery of short courses for Division I government officers in such areas as Foreign Policy Analysis, International Affairs and Diplomatic Practice, Local Government Administration, and Public Management.

2. Scope and Development of the Discipline

It is evident from the foregoing that political science as a discipline in Malaysia will be a difficult field to delineate, given its rather ambiguous beginnings. One may resort to such supposed universalistic but vague definitions of the field as Easton's "authoritative allocations of values"[4] to define the central concern of political scientists wherever they be or Lasswell's more succinct "who gets what, when, how"[5] or Deutsch's all-encompassing "the process by which people collectively decide their fate",[6] to suggest what should concern Malaysian political scientists. However, we are inclined to think that defining the limits of a discipline prematurely is seldom a gainful enterprise. It may be best for our purposes in discussing a still burgeoning discipline in Malaysia to leave its boundaries fairly open. As such, the disciplinary concerns may best be considered as those that are the subject of study and teaching of those who consider themselves political scientists in Malaysia. At minimum, such people would naturally be concerned about all matters pertaining to government and public affairs and social events and change related to public policy at both the local and international levels.

In Malaysia the 'legitimate' concerns of the discipline has, in real terms translated in course offerings and research in the following broad areas: Comparative Government and Politics, Public Administration, International Relations and Foreign Policy, and Area Studies, most important of which are Malaysian Politics at the core, followed by Southeast Asian Politics and politics of other areas.

There is no denying that the discipline of political science in Malaysia has its roots in western social sciences and has definite moorings to American political science and to particular strains of the discipline in the American tradition. Even while Malaysian university education in general exhibits strong British influence, the subject of political science itself was indisputably an American import, at least in the initial phases of disciplinary development.[7] At the University of Malaysia, owing to reasons mentioned earlier, the particular strain of political science came in the guise of development administration which was virtually thrust upon the university as a component of the then Deputy Prime Minister, Abdul Razak's plan to reform Malaysia's administrative machinery under American tutelage.[8] As explained by Gagliano:

> In a significant shift from Malaysia's almost exclusive prior reliance upon the United Kingdom, Razak chose to initiate the reforms under American auspices and thereby opened the door for political science institutionally to enter Malaysia.[9]

The American political scientist who was instrumental in initiating this process was Milton J. Esman (of Pittsburgh University and subsequently, Cornell) who has given his own account of it in his *Administration and Development in Malaysia* (1972). Esman set the stage for this academic penetration with another American political scientist, John Montgomery of Harvard University. Together they conducted in 1966 a Ford Foundation-funded study which proposed the creation of a Development Administration Unit (DAU) in the Prime Minister's Department which was immediately undertaken by the government. The Montgomery-Esman Report also called for the creation of, and support for, an undergraduate and graduate programme in development administration at the University of Malaya for the training of civil service officers. Esman, having become senior adviser to DAU was asked to design the curriculum of the new Division of Public Administration by the Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Administration (FEA). Of this fortuitous development, he has jubilantly remarked: "Any teaching in political science or administration would be innovations in the local university curriculum, but administration oriented to development was a double innovation."[10] Today this American-inspired venture is well emplaced in the FEA, although the meaning of "Administration" has been stretched to include a wide diversity of courses. For example, among the 1982/83 offerings are Malaysian Politics, International Relations, Foreign Policy Analysis, Comparative Politics, Public Enterprises and Development, along with the usual fare of Administration courses. This oddity is compounded by the fact that International Relations courses are also taught in the History Department within the Faculty of Arts. It is, however, evident from the present FEA offerings that the Division has distanced itself somewhat from the Esman origins.

Appearing on the scene later, the political science programme at the Universiti Sains Malaysia in Penang within the School of Social Sciences, has developed somewhat more rationally. Its history by comparison to its counterpart programme at University of Malaya is less convoluted. As gleaned from interviews with older staff, the Penang programme drew its inspiration from 'migrant' political scientists formerly attached to the Political Science Department in the University of Singapore. The principal mover, Professor K.J. Ratnam, a Malaysian, was the one-time Dean of Social Sciences at Singapore and a lecturer in political science there. Ratnam managed to attract other political scientists formerly attached to Singapore University such as D.S. Gibbons and A. Nawawi to Penang. A graduate of the University of Singapore, Dr. Chandra Muzaffar, mounted the first two courses in political science (Introduction to Political Science and Introduction to Malaysian Politics), as the programme awaited the arrival of the senior Singapore University lecturers in 1970. From the onset, political science was not seen so much as a totally independent branch of study as it was part of an interdisciplinary programme in social sciences in a School of "Comparative" Social Sciences. Political science was nevertheless accorded the status of a major programme, thereby allowing for its specialization by students reading the 3-year Bachelor of Social Science degree. While the School has undergone great expansion and some structural changes in courses the programme has remained stable in foundamentals under the present 4-year degree structure. At present, political science at Universiti Sains encompasses five sub-fields with appropriate courses taught under each: Malaysian Politics, Comparative Politics, Public Administration, Political Philosophy, International Relations. Other fields include

Methodology and Strategic Studies.

The Political Science Department at the Universiti Kebangsaan was set up in 1976 by Prof. Zainal Abidin who was concurrently Head of Political Science and History. He succeeded in recruiting Dr. Harold Crouch (an Australian) to help formulate the political science programme that year. There was apparently no real planning initially as staff were taken in as and when vacancies arose. However, by the 1979/80 academic session, the Department boasted 10 full-time staff and a plethora of courses in the major areas of Political Theory, Comparative Government and Politics, Public Administration and Policy, Political Behaviour, National Security and Political Development. Malaysian Politics is offered as a core field for both undergraduate and graduate students and area specialization is offered additionally in Southeast Asian and West Asian politics.

3. US Politico-Academic Influence in Malaysia

The chief vehicle through which United States political scientists had been able to exert influence in Malaysia's socio-economic development was Harvard University's Development Advisory Service (DAS). The Montgomery-Esman Report referred to earlier was based on a DAS recommendation, which was founded by Ford Foundation. Ford first brought DAS to Malaysia in 1963 when it invited Harvard Professor Merle Fainsod "to expose the opportunities for administrative reform" there.[11] Nothing much developed from this but two years later the Ford Foundation again sought out Fainsod to help solve a public finance problem of the annual development programme. As Fainsod was not available DAS brought in another Harvardman, John Montgomery who recruited Milton Esman from Pittsburgh as well. The upshot was the Montgomery-Esman Report which led to the establishment of the Development Advisory Unit (DAU) in the Prime Minister's Department and the Administration Programme at University of Malaya. The DAU has without doubt created a lasting influence on Malaysia's central economic and administrative planning. Harvard's DAS provided a US$740,000 grant to establish the DAU. Esman became senior advisor to the project and was able to encourage Malaysian planners to study at US schools such as Harvard, Pittsburgh, Southern California and Cornell and American experts to travel to Malaysia. A DAS assessment on the role of foreign advisors on Malaysia's planning states the following:

> "Both the First (1956-60) and the Second (1961-65) Plans, as well as the Interim Report of 1963, were almost exclusively the work of foreign advisors.[12] However, with the creation of EPU (Economic Planning Unit) and other key planning organizations, Malayan participation in plan formulation increased rapidly. Roughly one-half of the FMP (First Malaysia Plan 1965-70) was drafted by indigenous personnel,[13] the other half by DAS experts . . .[14]

Another result of the Montgomery-Esman recommendations has been the setting up of the National Institute for Public Administration or *Institut Tadbiran Negara* (INTAN). Established in 1969, INTAN provides the systematic training of personnel for the Malaysian bureaucracy. Its staff-training programme had included sending eight or more of its staff to US universities each year. Specialists on the "behavioural aspects of management" were sent to the University of Southern California and those on "quantitative aspects" to either Cornell or the University of

Pittsburgh. DAS also encouraged the formation of other Malaysian institutions such as the Society for Public Administration which brought together government officers, politicians, educators, community leaders, and businessmen.

The direct attempt at political involvement of the DAS, followed the Malaysian racial upheaval of May 13, 1969, when it undertook to study the event with the blessings of Malaysian Government. It sent four American political scientists on a confidential mission in the persons of Myron Weiner of MIT's Centre for International Studies, Manning Nash of the University of Chicago, Nathan Glaser of Harvard, and Samuel P. Huntington of Harvard.[15] They released "Social Science Research for National Unity: A Report to the Government of Malaysia" on April 29, 1970. This 40-page report rather than suggest specific policies, urged the development of social science training in Malaysia and its application to problems of policy. The report found Malaysian research wanting and suggested creating a "research infrastructure". To accomplish this, they recommended the employment of foreign consultants, and they called for the establishment of a National Research Council to encourage and support non-government research. While the mission did not make any direct contribution to Malaysia's racial problems, it clearly had influenced the direction of Malaysian social science.

4. Biases in Teaching and Research

No discipline can claim complete "objectivity" or a lack of bias in its teaching programmes and research. Clearly biases will exist on one level depending on the individuals who teach and write about the subject and their particular training and backgrounds. At a more fundamental level, the socio-economic and political environment in which a subject is taught and researched must invariably affect what social scientists call the "dependent variables", i.e. the phenomena that are set up for teaching and investigation. Teaching and Research of political science in Malaysia has not escaped these generalizations. We have noted the rather uninformed manner in which political science was initially introduced into the University of Malaya and the biases of the particular approach or strain of political science that took root there. The teaching programme very likely reinforced the predisposition of the Malaysian government toward the development of what Esman himself has labelled the "administrative state". To a great extent, research also tended to be dominated by this American school of thought which emphasised an assumed unilinear development of governmental institutional structure along the pluralistic-rational structure of developed Western government. Such works as R.O. Tilman's *Bureaucratic Transition in Malaya* (1964), Gayle Ness's *Bureaucracy and Rural Development in Malaysia* (1967) and Esman's own work (cited earlier) are of this genre of scholarship. The Western model of political development as epitomised by such structural-functional approaches as Gabriel Almond's *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach* (1966) was also likely to have been a major point of departure for teaching political science in all the three universities. Such approaches would have likely reinforced the particular strain of political science and thinking that underpinned the administration/political science programme at the University of Malaya.

However, a more dominant trend in teaching and research springs from K.J. Ratnam's seminal work on *Communalism and the Political Process in Malaya*

(1964). This work which has become the focal point of departure for any analysis of Malaysian politics, employs the perspective of a conflict model of politics in a plural society. The much more insightful analysis of political processes in Ratnam's work compared to the genre previously discussed may be due to the author's familiarity with Malaysia as a local and his exposure to both the American and British political science traditions.[16] A problem has arisen here, however, where many subsequent works on Malaysian politics have largely failed to break new ground from this ubiquitous plural politics conflict model.[17] Preoccupation with plural politics may have possibly retarded more progressive and innovative lines of thinking on politics in Malaysia, within the political science discipline. Rather, new ideas about Malaysia have come not from political scientists as such but from scholars in anthropology and sociology, for example. A case in point is Clive Kessler's *Islam and Politics in a Malay state* (1974), which has generated some academic debate on lines other than plural politics.

Outside of Malaysian politics, one other major focus of political science scholars has been international relations and foreign policy: local scholars have naturally tended to write about foreign politics of their own country and the South-east Asian region.[18] Research on ASEAN has particularly loomed large as a major focus of international relations scholars in Malaysia and abroad testifying no doubt to the growing importance of that regional body in world politics. The most notable weakness of both teaching and research in international relations among local scholars has been the tardiness in incorporating definitive Third-World perspectives in their approaches. Theories of Third-World dependency and under-development have only recently entered the concerns of Malaysian foreign relations scholars despite raging debates about such issues among Latin American and some African scholars.

It is impossible in this brief survey to deal in a comprehensive manner with all schools of thought (insofar as they do exist) prevalent among Malaysian political scientists. Suffice it that this cursory discussion has attempted to point our own biases about what we consider to be the present weaknesses in research and teaching orientations.[19] It is nevertheless quite evident that the discipline is still very much at its infancy in Malaysia and has yet to reach a stage wherein there exists clearly defined contending paradigms in both normative thought and empirical research. It is pertinent to cite here the remarks of Tham Seong Chee in his recent survey of research trends in political science in the 1970s.

> . . . research activities in Malayan/Malaysian politics and history in the 1970s suggest two diverging (perhaps complimentary) concerns. On the one hand, one observes a congregation of foreign or western scholars on research concerns which are both topical and immediate. Therefore they are prone to investigate what appear to be the 'gut' issues of Malaysian politics. Such topics are certainly of interest to local scholars but comparatively very few works have been published by them on such issues. There are of course certain political constraints on the local scholar in this respect . . . . In the meanwhile local social science research activities are more 'national' in their orientation. This constitutes an important difference compared to the research activities of foreign scholars.

While there should be nothing inherently wrong with nationally-oriented research, the suggestion here is that local political scientists are perhaps too 'parochial' in their interests.

5. Recent Orientations of the Discipline and its Practitioners

There appears to be two major weaknesses or lacunae in Malaysian political science suggested in the foregoing discussion. Firstly, research and teaching have been too strongly influenced by western paradigms or perspectives. Secondly, local political scientists have tended to focus on too-narrowly oriented national or "parochial" topics. It may be suggested that cross-fertilization with other disciplines in the social sciences could possibly provide an escape route into more innovative and progressive thinking within the discipline. Another possible avenue for development in the discipline could come from greater commitment on the part of political science scholars to consciously use their discipline (research and teaching) to project and promote certain ideal states or conditions acknowledged to be wanting in Malaysian society. There is some indication that local political scientists are beginning to develop such a perspective. There is an increasing awareness among political scientists about the issues of underdevelopment and Third World dependency. There is now some literature linking the rise of authoritarian and repressive regimes in the Third World with the conditions of underdevelopment in Southeast Asia.[20] Malaysian political scientists could contribute to this literature by examining the material conditions of Malaysian society and its linkages with the increasingly authoritarian structure both at the structural and ideational levels. Such work will contribute to the greater understanding of issues of development and underdevelopment in the Third World generally and the manner by which they may overcome such conditions. Such research would also entail the development of interdisciplinary approaches such as political economy, political sociology and political anthropology, which will enrich the discipline.

Commited scholarship must also entail some form or other of active support for those trends in Malaysian society that are socially desired, or at minimum avoidance of support for those trends which are clearly acknowledged to be detrimental to the general good of society. Scholarship of this genre must all the more scrupulously observe the canons of scientific research, lest detractors may easily expose it for being academically unsound. The policy-oriented research carried out by the Centre for Policy Research (CPR) established in 1974 at USM, fulfils such a role if at its most basic level. Headed by K.J. Ratnam up till the latter part of 1982, it is the only organization employing political scientists, which carries out research with direct policy implications. The work of the CPR thus far has consisted mainly in the collection (and analysis) of baseline data on land tenure and land ownership in both the urban and rural areas in the Muda area in Kedah, studies on small-scale industries, and studies on drug dependence.

Commitment on the part of political science scholars to social ideals have also been manifested through direct social action or political involvement in some cases. Political scientists in the government and in political parties presumably play such a role. A somewhat less direct approach has been that propagated by *Aliran*, the Malaysian social reform movement, led by Dr. Chandra Muzaffar, who teaches political science at the Universiti Sains Malaysia. The movement is committed to the preservation and promotion of democracy and concomitantly to the promotion of a multi-ethnic Malaysian political consciousness. Most of its activities consist of promoting social consciousness at the ideational realm as well as social action on issues and problems related to democratic rights of the Malaysian citizenry. Such forms of political participation by political scientists are certainly consonant with the objectives of committed scholarship so long as social action never interferes or intrudes into the scholar's academic work which should always be guided by the scholastic standards of his discipline.

Political scientists in Malaysia found themselves directly confronting a political issue in Malaysia in June 1982, which elicited a direct response from group among them. The issue related to the enactment of amendments to the Societies Act (1966) by the Malaysian government. The matter in question was the classification of societies into "political" and "friendly" categories and the proscribing of political activities (defined as any act of influencing government policy) for the so-called friendly societies. Six political scientists issued a statement to the press which in effect challenged the arbitrary definition of "political" and "friendly" and argued that all associations and indeed all citizens have a right to influence government and thereby constantly engaged in political acts in a democracy. The amendment to the Act has since undergone one review and is still currently being revamped by the government as a result of a storm of protest by a large group of societies affected by it.

6. The Malaysian Politics and Government Project

To date the only attempt of Malaysian political scientists to undertake a national-level joint project has been the Malaysian Politics and Government Project (MPG) initiated in 1977. It therefore merits some reporting and examination.[21] The Project was carried out under the auspices of the Southeast Asia Studies Programme (SEASP), co-ordinated by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies at Singapore with funding from the Ford Foundation. Altogether six meetings and a two-day seminar were held (from October 1977 to December 1978) to foster collaboration between the participants of MPG as well as to implement the project. Professor Stephen Chee of the University of Malaya, who was the original co-ordinator of MPG, circulated a memorandum on the project to all political scientists at the various universities in April 1977. Based upon the response, the first meeting was held on October 1, 1977. At that meeting Dr. Zakaria Haji Ahmad of Universiti Kebangsaan was appointed to prepare a format for the proposed textbook on Malaysian politics envisaged as a final product of the MPG. At the second meeting on October 25, 1977, Dr. Zakaria took over as Co-ordinator from Professor Stephen Chee and the format presented was also accepted in principle.

Subsequent meetings were held on December 14, 1977, March 6, 1978, and June 12, 1978 to finalise the selection of paper/chapter writers and attend to other housekeeping matters. "Apart from the substantive issues discussed at these meetings, it needs to be emphasized that they served a dual function of getting together the small community of political scientists, irrespective of affiliation and indeed, discipline. Also, in the early and middle phases of MPG, attempts were made to encourage the participation of persons outside of the university network."[22]

The highpoint of the project was the convening of the MPG seminar at University of Malaya on September 22 and 23, 1978. The seminar enabled a collective scrutiny of the materials being prepared for the textbook and enabled all the participants to hear or read the various drafts of chapters and comments from invited non-participants. The chief snag was the inability of some participants to meet the deadlines for presentations. Altogether, 21 papers were slated for presentation, but of these only 8 papers were actually read, 7 "progress reports" (or synopses of papers) presented and one promised. Three contributors were unable to be present and there were two withdrawals. However, two previously uncommitted participants presented papers. The last meeting of MPG project was held on December 15, 1978 to discuss a paper not presented at the September seminar. The proposed "final version" of the MPG volume, resulting from the seminar consisted of an impressive 16 contributions or chapters in four parts, dealing with Introduction and Setting, Selected Issues and Problems, The Bureaucracy, and Foreign Policy and Issues.

The actual final product has yet to see the light of day. At the time of writing it has gone through two drafts, considerable pruning and suffered a number of withdrawals but the manuscript in a much modified form has been finally slated for publication. It will appear eventually as a volume on *Selected Issues in Malaysian Politics and Public Policy* to be published by Oxford University Press under the auspices of SEASP. Despite the perennial academic disease of failure to meet deadlines and the vexing co-ordination problems of such an ambitious project, the participants who have persevered and particularly the undaunting Co-ordinator, Dr. Zakaria should be congratulated for a job done. It appears that MPG was the first manuscript to be completed among the series of projects funded by SEASP.

There are nevertheless lessons to be drawn from the experience. The first is that while the project was highly commendable it was clearly far too ambitious. Co-ordinating a divergent and physically scattered group of political scientists who were located in different universities was bound to raise problems. As noted by the co-ordinator Dr. Zakaria, the most vexing problem was his powerlessness to enforce deadlines or even attendance at meetings. As we are aware, colleagues with whom one is in constant contact, can be pressured much more efficaciously on deadlines and attendance of meetings. The MPG co-ordinator was severely handicapped on account of this factor. A second problem was the constant need to depend on SEASP for funds and co-ordination. The publication of the volume may have been much more quickly expedited had the co-ordinator the latitude to seek out his own avenues for publications without constantly referring to the SEASP. As it turned out, the project has taken far too long to complete. Related to this is that the imperatives or overall objectives of the SEASP may have tended to also reduce the latitude of action of the co-ordinator leading further to tardiness of results. Were the project unrelated to a larger programme, it may have been completed with greater ease and less red tape.

On the whole, however, the fact that the project was pulled off at all is surely a commendable achievement in itself. As Dr. Zakaria noted in his report:

> . . . the spirit of MPG has been to initiate and foster contact and collaboration among political scientists in the country . . . MPG itself has been or is an ambitious exercise in that its suggested framework is wide-ranging and almost all-encompassing, albeit the topics are also designed to suit potential or specific authors' areas of research specialization. Even if at its completion the finished product will differ drastically from its original formulation, it is

> justifiably and rewardingly felt that a more primary (but intangible) goal of SEASP, that of promoting collaboration among Southeast Asian and Malaysian social (political) scientists – in this respect, no effort was spared to attract all teaching scholars from the three main universities – would have been fulfilled.[23]

Despite all the problems encountered, the Malaysian Politics and Government Project has shown that local political scientists with a little egging are not averse to carrying out collaborative efforts. It has pointed to a healthy direction for the development of the discipline in the future, namely, more Malaysian-based and Malaysian co-ordinated efforts to promote the discipline in the country. In the opinion of this writer, Malaysian political science will only make meaningful contributions to society and the nation if a truly indigenous-based discipline grounded in the material socio-economic conditions of Malaysia and supported by individuals who share a commitment and stake in this country, becomes a reality.

II. MAJOR TRENDS IN TEACHING AND RESEARCH

1. Teaching

In Malaysia the three main institutions[24] teaching courses[25] in political science are University of Malaya, University of Science Malaysia and the National University of Malaysia. There is no general pattern of organization for teaching political science.

The University of Malaya teaches political science as part of the course offerings in the Faculty of Economics and Administration. A peculiarity of the above faculty is the subordination of political science as a discipline in one of its recognized fields within the Division of Public Administration. In the Department of History (Faculty of Arts), international relations and foreign policy is the political science component taught as one requirement for a BA degree in History.

The School of Social Sciences[26] represents a multi-disciplinary approach to social science teaching. The school curriculum has three aims: (a) to provide a combination of core social science disciplines which will justify the awarding of a Bachelor of Social Science degree, (b) to structure a curriculum to provide for specialization to academically acceptable levels in one discipline while maintaining linkages to companion disciplines (via cross majors and minors, and (c) to allow for problem area studies that draw on core social science subjects like economics, political science, sociology, management etc.

The distinctive feature of USM is the organization of the teaching programme in a School set-up. Although there is a tendency towards discipline specific identification among staff and students, moves towards rigid departmentalization have in the past met with resistance.

Political science is currently taught at section level, by a staff of approximately six lecturers (including associate professors). There is currently no professor for political science.

Malaysia's only current Department of Political Science was initiated in the 1976-1977 academic year of the Arts Faculty of the National University of

Malaysia, which was established in 1970. At time of writing the Department boasts a staff of 3 associate professors and seven lecturers.

Political science teaching at the two newest universities is minimal. The University of Agriculture does offer an introductory course in political science as a feeder to the Department of Agriculture Extension and Education within the Faculty of Agriculture. The University of Technology too offers a bare minimum of introductory courses within their social science/humanities offerings.

Generally political science teaching for the undergraduate degree at the three main universities follows a roughly similar pattern: (a) multi-disciplinary faculty (or school) compulsory courses; (b) unidisciplinary or interdisciplinary "core" courses from individual departments; and (c) elective courses from other faculties or departments.

University of Malaya

Malaysia's oldest and most prestigious university near the capital city has yet to establish an independent organizational entity for study and research of political science. Currently political science courses are still shared by departments in the Faculty of Economics and Administration and the Faculty of Arts.

This is explainable by the fact that political science is still very much understood predominantly in the spirit of the Montgomery-Esman Report of 1966 which heralded the creation of an undergraduate programme in development administration at the University of Malaya.

Till date the University still chooses to run political science courses mainly in the Faculty of Economics and Administration and this is in the face of a case being made for an independent department of political science and international relations.

The University of Malaya has since its inception been offering a variety of political science courses which generally fall under the following categories:

(i) public administration and development

(ii) comparative politics

(iii) international politics

In the course of the undergraduate programme, students are exposed to the study of politics, administration and government, especially that of Malaysia. The course entitled "Malaysian politics and administration" for example, equips students with the basic tools for defining politics and its ecology and also recognising basic concepts common to the discipline. A second component of the course concentrates on the area, public administration and administration management whereby through local case studies, organization, structure and function of the Malaysian administrative machinery are studied. A parallel course also taught is that involving a comparative analysis of the administration process in developing societies, whereby the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France, the USSR, and the U.S. are presented as case-studies. The entire spectrum of the "policy school of development" approach to modernization and social change is opened to undergraduates thus acquainting them with the problem of development administration.

An introduction to policy-making administration takes participants through a structural analysis of the decision-making process which culminates in a discussion on the relationship between decision making and planning.

Courses in comparative politics focus mainly on political change and development strategies whereby different systems are tested on the strength of their development ideologies, be it democratic, totalitarian or socialist. To add local flavour to the picture, there is the standard inclusion of a survey of the structures and process in Malaysian politics. Here, besides discussing selected issues of local relevance, students are also expected to deliberate on the history and nature of Malayan politics from 1957 coupled with an analysis of the Malaysian political system and its political culture.

International Relations courses concentrate on the following core courses: international politics and foreign policy analysis.

The introduction to international politics consists of its definition, the international political constellation, the nature and forms of domestic and international power, national interest followed by international organization. As an appendage the SEA context is included whereby discussion topics include the characteristics and development of International Relations in S.E. Asia and the role of Great Powers in S.E.A. in relation to the region's political change and foreign policy formulations.

Foreign policy analysis is designed to expose students to the nature of foreign policy, policy formulation, and the instruments of foreign policy. A brief listing of discussion topics under the various sub-headings would run as follows: foreign policy analysis, the elements of foreign policy, policy formulation and administration, determinants of foreign policy, political culture and foreign policy formulation, resource allocation and foreign policy, political strategies and foreign policy and finally policy objectives and foreign policy.

Apart from these "core" courses the Department of History offers a substantial listing of courses that cover the theory and history of International Relations and also foreign policy.

A glance at the above programmes reveals that while the University of Malaya lays sufficient emphasis on introductory core courses, this is done in a manner that reveals a certain amount of imbalance. There appears still to be far too much emphasis on administration type courses with a sampling of comparative politics offerings and this at the cost of the various other components. For example, there is a dismal deficit in the area known as political philosophy. Also insufficient training is provided in political system's analysis whereby the different structures of state are provided a cross-national treatment. This could serve well to supplement any area studies being taught. Also the sub-fields political economy and political sociology seem to have been ignored. This has serious consequence for a programme of undergraduate study, since it is here that the student should learn to comprehend the relationship between politics, economics and society.

All these are however structural weaknesses that have given rise to 'gaps' that could be remedied via dedicated revaluation and reorganization of political studies in a new independent home of the near future.

University of Science Malaysia

Like all disciplines within the University, political science has the fundamental and general aim of promoting the socially relevant intellectual development of students. The aim of the political science courses is to increase substantially the understanding of politics as the process of the authoritative allocation of values, within and among nation states. This is to be achieved through systematic study of political issues, processes and institutions at sub-national, national and international levels.

Course requirements within the School of Social Science and the political science programme are designed to meet the above stated objectives.

In the first year students are required to do an introduction to political science and Malaysian politics. Second and third year courses (also now fourth year) are categorized into four sub-fields namely, comparative and Malaysian politics, international relations, political philosophy and public administration. Majors are encouraged to take at least one course from each of the sub-fields before graduating with their B.Soc.Sc. degrees.

To facilitate a convenient listing, a classification that differentiates between political system type courses, public administration type courses, political theory type courses and international relations type courses shall be used in analysing political science course offerings.

The introduction to politics comprises a survey of the general concerns of the discipline, its stand in the social sciences as a field of academic investigation, basic concepts and its various sub-disciplines. Where thought necessary serial science methodology of research and quantitative techniques are highlighted. Whenever possible, references are made to styles of teaching of the subject not only in the local context but also abroad. The general tone of this introduction is that of identification, location and familiarization as opposed to in-depth analysis.

The course on Malaysian politics, like in most other local universities fulfills the role of supplementary appendage to the general introduction. Topics discussed include, the indigenous political systems, political and constitutional development of the federal system, national integration, political communication, and foreign policy.

Comparative politics courses at this University aim to expose undergraduates to the preliminaries of the cross cultural political analysis. Apart from a familiarization with the dominant theoretical approaches, sufficient emphasis is given to specific issues of interest that dominate the political process of modernization and social change. These include political integration, stability, political culture, leadership, and conflict. This list continues with another course called "politics in plural societies" with political cleavage in a communally divided society being the primary focus. The major thrust here is a contextual analysis of conflict and political performance.

Unlike the other two universities where political science is part of the social science curriculum, U.S.M. can pride itself that it has since the inception of the political science programme taken pains to ensure that political science majors are furnished with courses catering to the needs of political sociology. There are course offerings concerning elite and leadership, parties and interest groups and law, politics and society. Examined here is the structure, nature and distribution of power, both in the First and Third Worlds and viewed from the angles, political development, integration and change. Under parties and interest groups an attempt is made to take a closer look at the structure, functions and character of political parties as actors in political competition.

It is also considered important that students keen on political science be enlightened on the relationship between politics and society. This course, originally conceived in the spirit of British constitutionalism now represents a much broader dimension dealing with the political and social roles of the legal system in social control. Among topics included are the legal system and the decision-making process, the legal system and politics, and social change. It is hoped that with this course students shall be better equipped to comprehend the socio-legalistic quality of power relations between the state and society.

The sub-field "public administration" offers a standard package of courses dealing with local government and administration, politics and public policy, and development administration. Though understaffed, the public administration section of the School of Social Sciences manages to offer a minimum of core courses designed to provide students with the minimum requirement of this sub-field.

Students commence with a basic introduction which includes theories of public administration, its history and basic concepts. Malaysia serves as the primary case-study, viewed from its bureaupathology and administrative reform.

The standard offering on local government and administration includes a survey of the theory and practice of local government and their administration, their evaluation policies and patterns of change. Students are encouraged to concentrate on specific issues in specific setting.

The policies and public policy course is basically interpreted as a course in policy analysis, the emphasis being on the impact of policies on the economic, social and political transformation of selected Asian societies.

Development administration is taken to be the study of the implementation of government development strategies aimed at development, i.e. the reduction of poverty, inequality and unemployment.

U.S.M. can be safely praised for its attempt to offer a substantial listing of political philosophy course, though there is still room for growth and improvement.

There appears to be a well-established "circuit of courses" that however reflects only a small portion of the known spectrum of political thought.

This situation has probably arisen as a result of a variety of reasons, not only peculiar to U.S.M. but probably also her other sister universities. Firstly, there is the immediate problem of the "marketability" of the subject. Students tend to avoid reading for subjects that are considered "non-saleable". Subject matter is another factor. Malaysian students often fail to realize the importance of political thought and are quick to develop an aversion towards this 'dry abstract stuff' – a possible indication of ineffective teaching techniques. Finally, there is the perennial staffing problem. (Currently, U.S.M. has only two specialists in this field in its employ.)

U.S.M.'s political philosophy programme introduces its students to the subject via the resolutive-compositive method. Politics is separately explained from philosophy before they are recombined into a working definition. Political thought is then distinguished from political philosophy, though instances of merger are also highlighted. Basic concepts are then discussed and this then leads in to the various ways they are presented by the various thinkers and schools of thought. This introduction to political philosophy is considered a direct link to the research seminar on political philosophy which emphasis the intellectual crisis in political thinking.

Third World ideologies are also part of the course listing. Attempts are made to classify ideology as "developmental philosophies", especially of the developing world and case studies include studies on Gandhi, Nyerere, Mao-tse-tung, Paolo Freire, Krishnamurti, and Sukarno.

Apart from western political thought of the Sabine tradition, Islamic political philosophy is also rendered attention and matters discussed include Islamic ideas of the individual and the state based on moral imperatives such as freedom, equality and justice.

U.S.M.'s undergraduate curriculum for International Relations is one that seems to expand upon the boundaries of conventional foreign policy analysis and is geared more to constellation analysis via case studies.

An important component of this programme is the course stressing selected issues like war and peace. In the nuclear age, east-west detente, north-south relations in Southeast Asia and Southeast Asia's response to this "threat" in the form of its regional policies. Coupled with the study of expansionistic foreign policies is also the concern for the political economy of the Third World whereby development and/or under-development is examined via an analysis of the international economic order.

International Organizations, both inter-governmental and non-governmental are another field of study. Students are introduced to organizations like OPEC, UNCTAD and ASEAN and its relationships to one another. The underlying tone here is that imperialism forms a foreign policy approach.

It is only of late that strategic studies courses have been included to the international relations programme at U.S.M. Taught by a specialist in war studies and international law, courses accomodate theories of war and military doctrines and international law. The international law course is conceived as an introductory treatment to the origins of international law, its sources, establishment, international agreements, international conflicts, territoriality, sovereignity and force.

In the case of this university course offerings reveal a need to further strengthen the political philosophy programme by entertaining new courses in oriental political thought and modern political thought – a possible reflection on the bias that equates "political philosophy" with "classical political philosophy".

In international relations, there should be more attention paid to the study and evolution of the international political constellation. Also comparative foreign policy courses should include more foreign policies of the third world, particularly Africa and Latin America. Also attempts should be initiated towards the launching of a course entitled "Non-Alignment and International Relations."

National University of Malaysia

This young university prides itself on being the only one with an established Department of Political Science. "Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia", as it is commonly known, has for the past seven years or so been offering courses in the sub-fields – political theory, thought, political systems, and international relations.

Political theory/thought as taught here seems to suffer from a certain paucity. Either due to lack of trained personnel or academic bias there is yet to be an occasion when one feels that a satisfactory complement of courses is presented.

Students are introduced to political thought along the "system of ideas" line of thought and most approaches tend to possess a certain bent towards democratic theory – hardly a well-rounded familiarization technique.

Other offerings focus on Islamic and Malay political thought from the early twentieth century to independence. This survey encompasses the works of such prominent local political thinkers like Sheikh Tahir Jalaluddin and Dr. Burhannuddin Alhemy.

The remaining two courses on political thought focus on political sociological issues of politics and society and its role and function in the state. Empirical political theory is here taken to mean research methods and theory building.

The political systems section of the programme presents a cross-section of issues ranging from comparative political systems (i.e. Arab political systems, SEA government and politics, European and Communist political Institutions) to contemporary third world politics (i.e. the politics of order and change.

International relations courses are poorly represented with a sparse listing comprising of an introductory course and three other courses. These are international relations in Southeast Asia, Conflict Management and Issues in Security and Defence. Among topics discussed are big powers in Southeast Asia, crisis analysis, conflict and co-operation, defence and security and military and defense in South East Asia. It is, however, to be appreciated that staffing constraints have till date prevented a further expansion in U.K.M.'s international relations teaching programme.

U.K.M.'s political science programme reflects a rather confused state of affairs. There does not appear to be any clearcut build up of courses and the choice of courses appear also to be arbitrary. However, given the highly "politically charged" nature of the university's decision making process vested interests seem to override academic priorities.

National Institute of Public Administration

This establishment was founded in 1974 and serves as the training arm of the Public Services Department. INTAN[27] (as it is commonly known), located in Petaling Jaya (with seven regional centres in Peninsula Malaysia) offers training courses for employees for government and statutory bodies through its seven training centres, among which are the Centre for Government, Urban and Regional Administration, and the Centre for International Relations and Diplomacy where most of the political science like course are catered for.

INTAN caters from some 90 types of courses in the field of public administration, management science, system analysis, project planning and public management. These courses run from a period of three days to a year.

Although INTAN caters mainly for governmental and para-governmental sectors, it does consider applications from others when such requests are received through the Malaysian government.

2. Research

Introductory Remarks

Generally speaking, there are two types of research in political science currently being carried out in the country, one academic university based and the other government department based. Government research in political science tends to be more empirical and policy oriented. For example, the Centre for Development Studies in the Prime Minister's Department is responsible for initiating, organizing, and assisting in the compilation and publication of seminar papers and research reports useful to development administrators and does its own in-house socio-economic and political research on Malaysian development problems.[28]

The Centre for Policy Research based at Universiti Sains Malaysia was established in 1974 to enable the undertaking of research, mainly for government and other public bodies on a scale and over a range of problems that would not have been possible within existing academic structures.

The Centre collects, analyses and stores data on crucial subjects on a systematic and continuing basis and monitors the nature of change and trends in development – measures the impact of existing policies and evaluates the need for new orientations in public policy.

Also the formation of the CPR was in answer to the growing concern among members of the local academic community in the country that there had been a monopoly by foreign consultants for regional development projects. The CPR could be seen as an attempt to break this monopoly.

One of the basic premises behind the establishment of the CPR was that there were a number of areas in which the policy makers interest and those of the academicians converged. In particular, both the government and the academic community faced the problem of the shortage of reliable base-line data on a variety of issues and it is to the improvement of this situation that the CPR has largely been dedicated since its inception.

What follows is a brief discussion of research activities of a political nature, either in the form of projects or publications within and without the university communities.

Non-University Research

(i) Projects

Although the Centre for Policy Research[29] is situated at Universiti Sains Malaysia its orientation and activities do not readily fall into conventional academic categories.

A feature common to most of CPR's projects is their multi-disciplinary scope and orientation thus reflecting the different backgrounds of their chief participants. Compared to conventional academic studies, policy-oriented research addresses itself more to specific problems and their solution. This in no way implies a lack of commitment to the expansion of knowledge or the lowering of academic relevance of the studies.

CPR projects originate in one of the three ways and this is well illustrated by the projects that have been in progress.

The first kind of projects are those that fall in the category of "commissioned" or "contract" research. The commissioning authorities expect reports on the research undertaken for them and where appropriate, also policy recommendations that the findings choose to suggest. Examples of such projects include the USM-MADA project, the study of small-scale industries project and the Padi Subsidiary Scheme project.

The second kind of project is that which although funded externally arise out of CPR's initiation. The ideas which have resulted in projects of this category have tended to originate in the course of discussion among members and associates of the CPR. These have taken final shape through submission to closer scrutiny by those interested in pursuing the subjects further and finally through the preparation of properly formulated research proposals. These proposals were then submitted to those agencies which the researchers believed to be the logical users of the findings and which therefore were most likely to provide the necessary funds. The Urban Land Ownership Study and the Drug Abuse Study fall within this category.

The final category of projects is that whose origins is the CPR itself and is funded through it's own resources. The Rural Poverty Study furnishes us with a good example and it is also expected that this category will soon include a number of follow-up studies involving secondary analysis of data collected through commissioned studies.

An important characteristic of the projects so far undertaken by this organization is that almost all of them involve the generation of hitherto unavailable base-line data sometimes on an impressive scale. While this is an achievement to be viewed with pride and satisfaction the excessive demands made by data gathering operations have often robbed the participants of opportunity and time to reflect on their own findings and to extend their considerations to dimensions beyond the mere preparation of project reports.

(ii) Publications

In 1976 the CPR embarked on a publication programme catering exclusively for its own output. The Centre's publications come under four different series namely, monograph series, project paper series, discussion paper series and the reprint series. The first two concentrate mainly on the findings of projects undertaken by the Centre while the third is directed to themes of more general interest while the fourth to the reprinting of papers on relevant topics by persons associated with the CPR. Topics published range from reports on land tenure, housing and squatter problems to urbanization and drug dependence.[30]

University Research

Although the primary emphasis of Malaysian universities and colleges has been teaching and the pressure "to publish or perish" has yet to become an integral part of the academic culture, the last ten years or so have seen a steady increase of academic type political science research in the country.

Much of the current research at the universities is of a fundamental or theory related character preferring to be "discipline based rather than interdisciplinary mainly descriptive-historical rather than analytical, producer oriented rather than consumer directed."[31]

Before proceeding further, it might be useful to distinguish between three major types of political science research. One class of researchers belong to that group of "unconscious thinkers i.e. writers not stringently guided by theoretical and methodological considerations. Secondly there are those "conscious thinkers" who prefer to steer a middle course between logical mishandling and logical perfectionism. Finally there are the "overconscious thinkers" who often fall prey to rigid methodo logism.[32]

In the 1960s and onwards to the 1970s research activity in history[33] in Malaysia grew in number and scope. A few basic characteristics stand out however. In the 1960s, research activities in history outstripped those in political science due mainly to the absence of any university department dealing with political science subjects. Historical research activities in the 1960s focussed mainly on the effects of British Colonial policy on various areas of Malaysian life – the economy, ethnic relations, education, foreign relations, trade and social development. Many of these studies were undertaken by Malaysians working for higher degrees in British universities.

The 1970s saw a heavy concentration of efforts to research into local history. By the early 1970s there was a belief or feeling that the areas of research pursued so assiduously through the colonial and early post colonial periods have been exhausted, hence the need for a reorientation.

Till date research in political science is increasing rapidly and may very soon catch up with those in the field of history, although presently it is nowhere near in quantity or variety of those which historians have carried out. A number of relevant generalizations can be proposed in regard to research activities in political science especially in the 1970s up to the present moment.

Most of the higher degree research work completed has been at universities principally in the U.S., U.K., and Australia. Though western scholars continue to dominate the field in political science research, there have been some signs of a reversal of the trend. This can be explained by the fact that (a) a growing number of Malaysians are completing their higher degree both overseas and at home; (b) stricter conditions imposed on foreigners doing social science research in Malaysia have led to a drop in foreign initiated research.

Classification

(i) Research on Malaysian History and Political Institutions

Current efforts at historico-political research tend to emphasize the local scene. One of the major areas of concern here is development politics. Researchers here (especially those in undergraduate programme in the Department of History, University of Malaya) aim at understanding the various political changes in Malaysian history.

The following list, though in no way complete presents a cross-section of post graduate work into the nation's early history including political development. A study of the Malayan Democratic Union 1945-48 was carried out by Cheah Boon Keng (M.A. Thesis 1974). Professor Khoo Kay Kim in his Ph.D. thesis (University of Malaya 1973) undertook a study of the beginnings of political extremism in Malaya during the 1915 – 1935 period. Another thesis worthy of mention is that of Yuen Cheong Leng (University of Malaya 1973, M.A. thesis) on the expansion of Japanese in Malaya 1900-1941. Tham Seong Chee[34] has the following comments to make on the historical-political research of this period.

> "Frequently (these studies involved) the mere assembling (with the necessary historical interpretations) of facts and figures pertaining to (the subject matter) with little attempt at identifying the processes involved in persistence and change within the community being studied over a period of time.
>
> Furthermore, the limited historical work thus far produced on aspects of the political

> social history of Malaysia does not seem to indicate a unifying conception of the methodological and theoretical considerations involved in the writing of the social history of (political) Malaysia."

(ii) Research on Government, Political Parties, and Elections

Most of the research work in political science has been on the Malaysian political system i.e. its parties, bureaucracy, ethnic characteristics etc. For obvious reasons, pluralist Malaysian society and politics is a strong draw to political scientists. This, coupled with trends in Malaysian political development, has considerably influenced political science research in this country for nearly two decades.

However, current trends point to the development of new research areas. An expanding group of political scientists, trained in modern research methodology is breaking new ground, given the ever growing research possibilities. U.S.M., U.K.M., and U.M. are currently conducting research activities covering a wide spectrum of topics.[35]

Government and political structure is one area of research that perhaps has yielded most results in the area of political science research publications. What follows is in no way an exhaustive schedule, but merely a cross-section of political science research carried out in this area by local political researchers in the past decade or so.

There is virtual unanimity in political research publication that communalism is the most salient feature of the Malaysian political system. So basic is this assumption that almost all the critical research can be construed as replies to such questions from it. Below we present a random selection of such sub questions in relation to research publications.

Multi-ethnic and communal politics have attracted a great number of research efforts since the 60s. The pivotal work in the area is without doubt K.J. Ratnam's *Communalism and the Political Process in Malaya.* Other significant studies include Alvin Rabuskes *Race and Politics in Urban Malaya* (1973) representing the first systematic public opinion poll conducted in Malaya on topics of communalism and politics. Also R.K. Vasil's *Politics in a plural society: A study of non-communal political parties in Malaysia* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Malaya, 1968) could be considered an important contribution. Other studies worthy of mention are Stephen Chee on socio-economic cultural pluralist and Mohammed Aris Othman's Malay political attitudes and ethnic identity have been the subject of extensive research by Khoo Kay Kim[36] and the present premier Mahathir Mohammad.[37]

Studies on the various communal parties in Malaysia have been encouraging. Chan Heng Chee and K.J. Ratnam have both analysed the role of the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) in the Malaysian political process. A more recent work on the subject is J. Nagato's on pluralism in Malaysia, published in 1975. It is important to take note that contemporary research on the MCA in Malaysia will in future have to take into careful consideration the functional and structural changes that this component of the National Alliance has undergone since 1970. Its position in the National Front differs from that when she was in the Alliance. For example, the Democratic Action Party (DAP) today is challenging the MCA's claim to be the protector of Chinese interests.

Also the nature and scope of Chinese support has changed and this has to be closely studied.

Apart from Roff's work on Malay nationalism and D.K. Barsett, on changes in Malay politics, C. Pillay's[38] thesis on the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) provides a useful exploration of Malay political attitudes exemplified by UMNO politics.

Though its political fortunes have suffered considerably PAS (Parti Islam Semalaysia – a Malay political party based in Kelantan) remains a potent force in Malaysian politics. Though studied extensively by foreign scholars because of its unique political behaviour, insight into the workings of PAS by local political scientists like Y. Mansoor Merican[39] provide comprehensive studies of this political party.

The Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) i.e. the third political component of the National Front has yet to be subjected to in-depth systematic study. One such study is Sri Tharan's which analyses of the role of the MIC in relation to the political development of Malaysian political community.

Our still limited understanding of the Malaysian electoral process has been substantially enriched by K.J. Ratnam and Milne study of the Malayan parliamentary election. Vasil's recent study of communal parties in his *Politics and Plural Society* is also another well-timed contribution. More recent works include those published by the social reform movement called ALIRAN under Dr. Chandra Muzaffar, currently lecturing political science at U.S.M. Finally, important to note here too is a study on race politics in the Malaysian elections by Ismail Kassim.

K.J. Ratnam and Milne[40] provide us with an authoritative reference on the federal structure of the Malaysian political system, thus adding colour to this field of research which for a long while was dominated by B. Simandjuntaki's[41] study of federalism. Most of the earlier published research tended to focus on comparative studies or approached federalism from the nation-building perspective. It was only later that Mohd. Nordin Sopiee attempted an in-depth examination of the parameters of political unification in Malaysia. Other writers have chosen to explore the relationship between state and central governments.

Recent years have seen a number of research projects of social science nature being launched by the staff of the Law Faculty of the University of Malaya. Asmi Khalid wrote *Case and Materials on Constitutional Law* while M.P. Jain concentrated on administrative law and Manjeet Kaur on land law. An urgently needed review of family law in the country presented itself through Mehrun Siraj's case book on family law. Most research projects mentioned were carried out in the context of higher degree programmes, and a few are scheduled to appear as texts for undergraduates.

Apart from the above, research has also been carried out on the legal and constitutional aspects of political development. Ho Sim Bin wrote a Ph.D. thesis on the political study of the constitutional development of Malaysia. On those formal issues of Malaysian constitutional law, Malaysia's senior most judge Mohd. Suffians *Introduction to the Malaysian Constitution* remains a classic.

(iii) Research on Development Policies

Researchers have responded with a sizeable flow of publications and projects to the question of policy selection and implementation evaluation in Malaysia. Though Gayl Ness[42] and Milton Esmen[43] are frequently quoted, this seems to indicate a bias for "old time favourites".

Political science has tried to explain the escalating authoritarian tendencies in Third World countries as a correlation between lack of social homogeneity and political consensus and political instability reflecting antidemocratic tendencies. It is in this light that Malaysia provides a deviating example. Central to this discussion would therefore be the question of how its pluralistic social character has been able to guarantee political stability. While there is substance to this policy school of development approach, today's research tends to concentrate more on the managerial pragmatism side of policy implementation and administration. This could be explained by the fact that most research in this field is empirical in nature.

Stephen Chee[44] from the Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya has contributed diligently to policy administration research over the past four years. Phang Chung Nyap has written a thesis (University of California) on the question of development administration while Shabbir Cheema formerly of Universiti Sains Malaysia specialized in rural development performance.[45]

(iv) Islam and Malaysian Politics

Most western trained local scholars tend to investigate extrinsic aspects of Islam mainly as a force in politics. In doing so, they often neglect the other manifestations of Islam in the Malaysian context. So far, most studies in Islam and political development have narrowed down their focus to the east coast state of Kelantan. Such studies have not clearly established the role that Islam plays as a political force in the arena of national political activity. More comparative studies require initiation before coming to conclusions as to the role of the religion in political development.

On the other hand, local trained scholars tend to either examine the context of Islam as transmitted through traditional media or study the origins and manner of organization of religious groups and institutions.

Though welcomed contributions have clearly been made in understanding Islam as a tool for political development in Malaysia, much is left to be said about the adoption of multiple approaches. The fact that Islam permeates all levels of Malay life demands that no research on it be valid without theoretical considerations being presented.

(v) Research on the Armed Forces in Malaysia

It can be justifiably stated that political sociological research on the role of the armed forces in Malaysia is still in its infant stage. Though not generally visible in the area of political development the armed forces are nevertheless politically salient.

Apart from Dol Ramli's academic exercise on the history of the Malay Regiment, UKM's head of the Political Science Department seems to be the only other active researcher in the new field of local political science research activity. Apart from studies on ethnic politics and public administration Zakaria Ahmad has initiated investigations into political violence[46] in Malaysia and the army – police role in Malaysia's political development.[47] Till date this political scientist leads in this field of political sociology.

(vi) Research on International Relations and Foreign Policy

Much of the recent research carried out in the area by local political scientists has tended to highlight Malaysian foreign policy in the light of its relations tó ASEAN Malaysian policies in SEA have been extensively researched by Khaw Guat Hoon[48] from USM who is currently concentrating on South Asia and the ASEAN region. M. Pathmanathan from the Faculty of Economics and Administration of the University of Malaya is currently working on Malaysian foreign policy, conflict management and neutralization in SEA, while his colleagues from the Department of History, J.M. Chandran and K.S. Nathan are studying regional security and major powers in SEA respectively.

Three other Ph.D. theses touching on Malaysia's foreign policy should also be mentioned. J. Saravanamuttu's study on the *Sources and development of Malaysian foreign policy* (University of British Columbia 1976), Lau Teik Soon with his *Investigation into Malaysia-Singapore Foreign Policy in S.E. Asia,* and William Tan's *Southeast Asian Security in the Post Vietnam Period* (University of California 1977). The study by T. Pushpathara on *ASEAN and external relations* (University of Hawaii 1980) also deserves mention.

Apart from an academic exercise on Malaysia's relations with the East European bloc by K.S. Nathan (University of Malaya 1970) nothing substantial has arisen from local research circles pertaining to Malaysia's foreign relation vis-a-vis the rest of the world (i.e. excluding ASEAN, China and Japan) there still seems to be too much focussing on the immediate neighbours. Though this leaning is understandable given the present dynamics of ASEAN's growth it should not block out research on other international political constellations.

III. PROBLEMS OF THE PROFESSION

As a new academic discipline in the Malaysian system of higher education, political science, together with its sister social science disciplines of anthropology and sociology, has had more than its share of "teething" problems. Like anthropology and sociology, political science has no recognized base in primary and secondary educational curriculum. Unlike its innocuous sounding sister disciplines, political science addresses itself to the heart of a society's decision-making process – i.e., in Easton's definition, politics deals with the process whereby society engages in "authoritative value-allocation".

The idea of a *science* of politics is of fairly recent origin even in its natural Anglo-American homelands. The crucial difference in the Western experience, however, lies in the fact that the philosophical basis for such a science has long been in making, strictly speaking, since the onset of the European Renaissance. This philosophical base, in its barest essentials, involves ideas of democracy (in both its popular sovereignty and pluralistic themes), science, individualism, liberalism, and rationalism. Even in its fertile Western home environment the demystification of authority which is a necessary prelude to the replacement of a sacred-mythical view of politics by a rational-scientific perspective must await the onset of the progressive revolutions of the English, French, and Americans which effectualized a transition from the *divine* rights of kingly authority to an authority based first on popular sovereignty (French) and subsequently revised to a pluralistic view of democracy (American) which did away with the French myth of an undivided popular will. The resultant idea of a secular political system – designed by man for the purpose of man – represent one of the supreme triumphs of the European Enlightenment, in particular its belief in the possibility of progress achieved via the application of reason. Politics, even in the West, however, remains one of the *last* strongholds of human behaviour to be subjected to the method of science. In non-Western contexts such as Malaysia, the idea of a secular-rational approach to politics must contend against an amalgam of Malay, Chinese and Indian political cultural heritage in which such democratic, egalitarian, pluralistic and liberal elements are largely underdeveloped. While traditions of political enquiry have existed in China and India for centuries, such traditions have for various reasons not figured prominently in Malaysian political contexts. Consequently Malaysian politics has lived initially on a thin borrowed intellectual capital of British origins, enlivened by a thin veneer of feudal Malay political style which was preserved by the British. Post May 1969 even that British heritage was put in eclipse as Malay nationalists began to discredit the "Westminster style democracy" as irrelevant to Malaysian settings. In the current scene Malaysia now operates a "limited" democracy with a built-in one-party dominance, achieved without the benefit of a public political debate, and qualified by substantial restrictions on the process of political competition.

In examining the problems of the political science profession it is important to give the above factors their due consideration. Indeed, given the concern of the post 1969 governments with managing political conflict and competition and ensuring political stability, one cannot but expect that the political science profession would also experience constraints on its activities, especially since it owes its very birth to *government-created* institutions of higher learning in Malaysia. Political science in Malaysia, then, is not an endogenous development tied to a broad-based social and intellectual evolution, as in the West. As a creature of the Malaysian state, its developmental history understandably bears witness to this linkage. Our survey will thus briefly highlight some of the problems this linkage creates for the profession in the areas of (i) teaching (ii) research, (iii) the development of a public role, *vis-a-vis* the body-politic, and (iv) the overall development of the profession. Our discussion, additionally, will seek to compare the problems and limitations that are inherent in political science as a discipline (universally) and problems of political science that may be peculiar to Malaysia.

1. Definition of Profession

It is necessary at this juncture to set forth what we mean by the concept, profession. By a profession we refer to a body of individuals distinguished by their mastery of a body of theoretical knowledge which they seek to apply in service of a clientele. A profession in this sense legitimizes itself and its activities around the task of creating, transmitting, and certifying this body of knowledge. In this process professions are governed by norms of *autonomy* in its professional arena as a safeguard to its creative vitality, but qualified by the imperative of *public accountability* for the impact of its activities. Historically, professions have been given organizational forms in the creation of associations that control the recruitment, training and certification of new members, oversee the professional conduct of members, and develop consensus over the creation of new knowledge. (The certification of new knowledge, however, is a *methodological* matter, and not a political matter, for the profession).

In the above sense political science in Malaysia is not yet a full fledged profession. Several attributes: e.g. autonomy in recruitment, training, and certification of new members, endogenous priority-setting for the profession by its members, are simply not present. (The state interferes sporadically even in what is deemed traditionally as purely academic matters – i.e. the creation of new curriculum and programmes.)[49] Most telling is the fact that there is no political science association in Malaysia at the moment of writing. Rare indeed is the occasion when political scientists feel impelled to speak publicly on matters of transparent political importance.[50]

Plagued by problems of status, legitimacy, and a lack of professional identity, political science in Malaysia has achieved very little public visibility and rarely courted public controversy. The political arena itself bears witness to the paucity of the political science presence as compared to, say, doctors and lawyers.[51]

2. The Dimensions of the Political Science Profession

The minute dimensions of the political science profession in Malaysia in itself would suffice to explain its current minimal impact on the political process in Malaysia. Currently, there are only *two* university departments of political science in Malaysian universities, with under 50 lecturers in political science. Of these two, only one, at the National University of Malaysia, is a full fledged department while at the Science University of Malaysia political science constitutes a "section" within the School of Social Sciences to which it is administratively subordinate. The University of Malaya teaches political science courses within the Faculty of Economics and Public Administration. Yet the checkered institutional history of political science at UM, the nation's oldest and most prestigious institution of higher learning is itself indicative of the Malaysian state's ambivalence towards the subject at the time of the onset of higher education in this country.[52]

3. Enrolment and Majors

At the University of Malaya, students do not major in political science *per* *se* but nominally enrol as majors in Public Administration and/or Economics. Majors in public administration are, for academic year 1982-83, 48 in the second year and 33 in the 3rd (final) year. Figures for public administration for the past five years have hovered around this range.[53] At the National University, there are altogether about 200 political science majors with 90 each for the second and third year, and 21 in the graduating class. At the National University (UKM) students' choices are restricted to only 3 subjects upon entry, after which, based on performance and faculty evaluation, they are "offered" political science (or other majors) in the ensuing second, third, and final years. The viability of political science as a major at UKM, then, cannot be read to reflect the students' preferences, interests, or their assessment of "marketability", etc.

Where student decision is given a fuller rein – at the Science University (USM), however, political science has fared poorly as a major. Fourty five students are currently registered as *majors* in political science at USM. *Enrolment* in political science courses has remained fairly constant, however, indicating that student interest in the subject has not waned while "marketability" remains the primary consideration in students' choice of majors.

An unhealthy pattern that has emerged in ethnically mixed USM is that of declining non-Malay (or non-Bumiputra) enrolment as political science majors.[54] Reflecting a widespread non-Malay perception of public sector employment as a "Malay preserve", such a pattern may, if unchecked, worsen the already established identification of race with politico-administrative function. The Malaysian government, while admirably committed in the New Economic Policy to eradicating ethnic imbalance in the economic sector, will in the future have to address itself to this developing inequity.

A final point to note about enrolment is that the Universiti Sains Malaysia has pioneered a long distance education programme (based on Britain's Open University concept) inclusive of political science offerings. Currently, USM's political science enrolment "off-campus" has gained momentum and has become a major part of its total enrolment. While such a development is generally agreed to be desirable from the point of view of the development of a politically more sophisticated and mature citizenry among the neglected post-college age group, numerous problems have arisen in regard to this *written* mode of political science teaching in light of the hazards posed by a host of government legislation to the unwary political science instructor.

4. Political Science and the Shrinking Political Arena in Malaysia

A recent confidential report by an external consultant to a Malaysian university highlighted, among other things, the declining morale and productivity in its political science staff. Such an observation should not surprise anyone who is minimally familiar with the Malaysian political scene in the past decade.

In effect, government policies of the decade of the 1970s threaten to legislate the very subject matter of the political science discipline out of existence. At any rate, important segments of the political science discipline – e.g. political philosophy, Malaysian politics, comparative politics, communist systems – whence must operate in a minefield of encompassing legislative restrictions.

After the Kuala Lumpur race riots of 1969, the Sedition Act (1971) proscribed public discussion of sensitive issues pertaining to language, religion, the special position of the Malays, the citizenship of non-indigenous communities, and the position of Malay rulers. Following the student unrest of 1974 legislations aimed at academic (subsequently all autonomous social organizations) proscribed, first, student involvement in politics, and subsequently (in the 1979 – Staff Disciplinary Rules) effectively terminated the possibility of a legitimate exercise of a public political role for academics (unless approved by the University authority – the Canselori). In effect, as critics point out, the right of citizenship of academics (other than voting), inclusive of the rights of association, speech, and publication are all but eliminated (if the legislation were enforced in literal terms). In 1981, legislations aimed generally at hitherto autonomous groups came in the form of the Amend to the Societies Act (1961) which sought to classify all organizations into "friendly" or "political" categories. "Friendly" societies which, in the opinion of the Registrar of Societies, engage in "political activities", would be subject to deregistration. And, if all these are insufficient the Internal Security Act stands ready to pack anyone deemed by the state authorities to act/speak in ways inimical to state security to imprisonment for indefinite periods without trial.

It is probably not surprising that, while such legislations have little significance for areas like mathematics, computer science, or physics, the political and social sciences must henceforth operate under a new set of inhibitions and explicit proscriptions, thus severely circumscribing the scope for legitimate research and critical enquiry. The very social sciences that are theoretically in a position to contribute to public enlightenment on the controversial issues of public life must now, like everyone else, observe a moratorium on their public discussion and debate. (Academics who have infringed on such issues, along with politicians, have in fact been subject to detention without trial in the mid to late 1970s.)[55]

5. The Political Scientist as Teacher in Malaysian Universities

Our discussion on the problems of political science teaching and research in Malaysia will draw on a questionnaire type survey we carried out in September 1982[56] of the opinions of lecturers in the relevant three Malaysian universities as well as the Institute Tadbiran Awam Negara (Intan/National Institution of Public Administration), a training institute for career civil servants.

Judging by the physical infrastructure of buildings and campuses, Malaysian universities must rank as amongst the better endowed set-ups in the Asian context. (As evidence, there was no complaint about such items as library, clerical service, technical support, lecture premises etc. by our respondents).

Respondents' comment on teaching however fall around a few major problem areas:

(i) the impact of legislation on discussion of "sensitive issues";

(ii) the policy of conversion to *Bahasa Malaysia* (by 1983) and consequently the attendant problems of lack of Malay texts (in most areas of the discipline), the decline in ability to read source-material in English (i.e. the bulk of current reading material);

(iii) the heavy teaching load (6 - 7 hours a week). Teaching is now a full time task given the need to translate into *Bahasa Malaysia.*

(iv) the intrusion of government directives to translate texts to Malay and publish in Malay; and novel programmes such as the off-campus programme and strategic studies;

(v) the declining standards of students (in part attributable to the use of quota system in enrolment);

(vi) the leakage of staff (Bumiputra) to other public sector jobs and the shortage of qualified staff – a complaint aired most particularly by one university;

(vii) the lack of an intellectual climate and the mechanistic approach to learning by students;

(viii) the lack of demarcation between administrative and teaching duties and the interference of administrative duties with regular teaching and research.

While one respondent describes teaching and research as posing "no problem" in Malaysia, a majority of our respondents focused on problems resultant from the transition to *Bahasa Malaysia* as medium of instruction as well as problems posed by the low quality of student intake. In discussion with some lecturers, the "gag rules" of 1979 is deemed to have affected the teaching of Malaysian politics and political philosophy most seriously. Areas that border on being sensitive were consequently denied a place in reading, class discussions, and course work assignment.

One respondant mentions the narrow definition of "national relevance" as a factor having an adverse effect on the teaching atmosphere. Others have taken issue with the government's effort to demand "tangible returns" – in the number of graduates employed by the public and private sector, for instance. In this respect, political science suffers in comparison with the "skilled professions" that can more visibly and demonstrably fulfil specific manpower requirements of various sorts – e.g. accountants, programmers, business managers etc.

One political scientist we interviewed replied to the above by arguing that political science, by providing education in *citizenship* and *leadership* is in the business of producing a *public* or *collective,* as opposed to a *private* good. Though intangible, such public goods are nonetheless crucial to the vitality of the public political realm. Deterioration in public life is evident, for example, in the irresponsible public behaviour visible everywhere in driving, pollution, and in the degradation of public services such as parks, toilets, and school facilities. A society that sees such investment in public good as peripheral is in danger of losing its character as a political community. The distinctive characters of public good is, however, its non-exclusive nature – i.e. once produced, its consumption cannot be restricted to those who paid for its creation. Thus, while the creation of good citizenship and leadership benefits society as a whole, the costs of this process are paid only by a few. A progressive society distinguishes itself more importantly not so much in private consumption, but most of all in the quantity and quality of its production of public goods. Deterioration in the public goods domain, on the other hand, is a sure indicator of socio-political disorganization, alienation, and the uncertain authority of established governments.

Curriculum development at the three universities suggest some differences in emphasis as well as differing levels of integration. A senior academic at the University of Malaya lamented the "ad hoc, unintegrated" nature of its politics programme, hampering the student's cumulative acquisition of political knowledge. A senior faculty member of University Kebangsaan Malaysia (National University) speaks of the lack of experienced teachers and the uneven academic preparation of some staff members as hampering its curriculum development, (UKM currently has 7 lecturers teaching 200 political science majors).

A former head of the Political Science programme at USM, on the other hand, feels that USM's curriculum development has achieved an advanced degree of integration and structural stability. Staffing at USM has also been quite stable with only 1 lecturer having departed the University on external appointment.

Several of the leading issues of tension in the political science programme in Malaysia are attributable to difficulties arising from poor policy design and formulation, improper co-ordination and inadequate rationalization of various facets of higher education policy in Malaysia. The policy of sending staff for advanced graduate degrees in foreign countries, for instance, is bound to run at cross-purposes with that of a rapid implementation of *Bahasa Malaysia* and "nationalizing" the content of higher education. Given the diversity of intellectual traditions Malaysian political scientists have been exposed to (U.S., Britain, Canada, Australia, Germany) and the differences these traditions have vis-a-vis Malaysia, it is hardly surprising to witness a marked discrepancy in intellectual outlook between staff and students, and amongst staff members as well. Another discrepancy exists between the policy of rapid expansion of university libraries in English Language collections, and the practice of admitting students who cannot use them. More examples of such mutually conflicting (even mutually cancelling) policies may be cited, but these examples should in themselves highlight the hazards of "education by directives" which has prevailed in our society.

In theory at least, (i.e. if one assumes a pluralistic outlook in politics), the diverse backgrounds of lecturers and students should provide fertile soil for intellectual stimulation and development. In Malaysia, regrettably, the fervent desire for nation-building and integration post the dissensus of the 1960s has ushered in a political era with a "monocratic" accent that is largely hostile to controversy and dissent. Higher education in Malaysia has lost much of the excitement and vitality of the 1960s, as students increasingly devote the bulk of their intellectual energies to run a formidable bureaucratic "maze" composed of major requirements and minor requirements, school requirements and section requirements; electives and options, and intellectual challenge and exploration of mental horizons get substituted by the rush to duplicate lecture notes, the learning by-rote norm of passing course work requirements and term exams. If an intellectual climate exists in Malaysian universities, it is little in evidence in lecture theatres, tutorial rooms, even student dorms and faculty offices.

6. Political Science Research in Malaysia

In replies to our questionnaire political scientists cite the (i) political sensitivity of certain issue areas; (ii) legal and self-imposed constraints on research, (iii) limitations of funds and research, (iv) inaccessibility to government information in certain areas (e.g. internal security; (v) government cooptation of the research process; (vi) narrow definition of national relevance; (vii) the full time demands of teaching in *Bahasa Malaysia* and writing off-campus lectures and (viii) the lack of consistent correlation between research accomplishment and promotion as the primary factors inhibiting research output in Malaysian political science.

It is safe to say that, seen in quantitative terms, research output in Malaysian political science is still far from satisfactory. However, certain areas mentioned by Felix Gagliano[57] as lagging have recently been picked up by scholars. Shafruddin Hashim has just completed a comparative account of state-federal politics in three West Malaysian polities in his Ph.D. dissertation at London University. Hamzah Ahmad and Zakaria Hj. Ahmad have provided us with insights into the Malaysian military and police force. Thus far the system of criminal justice in Malaysia has been ignored together with the sensitive issue of political violence and communal processes. There also seems to be a dearth of information on East Malaysian political processes apart from the pioneering efforts by Michael Leigh's Ph.D. thesis on party formations and Margaret Roff's stimulating account in *The Politics of Belonging.*[58]

The major theme on Malaysian studies remains ethnicity and communalism in a plural societal setting. Departures from this mode of analyzing Malaysian politics seem to be in the making at USM's School of Comparative Social Sciences, where investigation of the class-bases of ethnic behaviour patterns is being explored by several scholars.[59]

The emergence of Marxist modes of social analysis appears to signal a degree of openness in the research picture that would have seemed precluded by the government legislations mentioned earlier.

At the university level, in fact, there appears to be no systematic effort to censor research. On the contrary such factors as (i) scholar's interest and professional background, (ii) accessibility of data and information, (iii) contacts with relevant authorities, (iv) funding priorities, (v) legal and self-imposed constraints seem to go a long way towards accounting for the character of political science output in Malaysia. Together, these forces explain the dominance of certain issue clusters – development administration, public management technologies (e.g. PPBS); foreign policy and ASEAN relations; the politics of federalism as structured by Malaysian constitutional and electoral processes.

There has been much talk of freeing staff for research but thus far little action has been taken. On the contrary, other priorities – teaching, off-campus lecture-writing and tours, translation in Malay of foreign texts – are likely to compete with and win against objectives endogenous to the profession.

Finally, institutionalized political science research has scrupulously avoided the contentious constitutional and normative issues relating to the nature and character of the Malaysian polity and the illiberal political developments of the 1970s. Radical political changes legislated by Parliament have passed largely unremarked by political scientists. Such silence, together with the lack of public reaction generally, may go towards explaining the proclamation of a government minister at the recent seminar of the Malaysian Social Science Association that the age of consensus has indeed arrived in Malaysia.[60]

If a Malaysian consensus has arrived – how was it so arrived at, and what constitutes its essential elements? Neither the Malaysian government nor political scientists seem to have made much headway on this issue. For an attempt to provide a basis for discussion, then, one is led to look outside governmental and university contexts and appraise the significance of a more informal type of political science – the phenomenon of a reform movement named Aliran.

7. The Political Scientist as Social Reformer: The Case of Aliran

The question of a public role for the political scientist is in part answered by the interesting social reform movement called Aliran, which was founded in 1978 (led by Political Scientist Chandra Muzaffar as President) by a group of academics and students from the Universiti Sains Malaysia in Penang. Aliran's attempt to apply relevant aspects of political and social science illustrates both the promise and liabilities of an action-oriented political science. Its creditable growth and, more importantly, the evident receptivity of a multi-ethnic audience, suggests that normative political philosophical ideas (both East and West) such as justice, freedom, equality, the dignity and moral autonomy of the individual, etc. can still muster considerable emotional force in this society. Additionally, the middle class support it has garnered suggests that a significant body of the Malaysian public of various races (tacitly at least) may perhaps share Aliran's deep-seated doubts about the wisdom of present state policies and its inarticulate ideological premises. If the above is correct, Aliran may come to play an important role in stimulating a constructive intellectual debate about the fundamental premises of the Malaysian polity and the emergence of a genuinely Malaysian value-consensus.

Such at any rate is the avowed objective of the Aliran movement. Aliran sees itself as an "ethnic mediator", the first truly non-ethnically based reform movement in Malaysia. The group seeks to develop the universalistic elements of Islam as the ideological foundation for the integration of norms and values from all other "major" communities. It is emphasized that these major traditions (Malay, Hindu, and Chinese/Confucianist) represent cultural heritage of universalist and not particularaistic tendencies.

Formal political science at best appeals to a small elite audience. By contrast Aliran has sought to popularize basic political concepts relating to the rights and duties of citizenship vis-a-vis the state in a participatory democracy. In these respects Aliran is populist, egalitarian, socialistically and democratically inclined.

Aliran's commitment to certain metaphysical tenets of Islam, however, suggests that there are limits to its intellectual openness. Another potentially troublesome area is Aliran's heavy reliance on a method of normative argument based, ultimately, upon the moral and ethical appeal of unanalysed (and potentially problematic) concepts such as freedom, justice, equality, brotherhood.

This strategy of appealing to basic values has often been resorted to by reformers of vastly different political persuasions to justify policies and programmes of radically different character. The problem with such unproblematic basics like "justice", however, is that the Bumiputra, when pressed, would come out with notions which would differ in major aspects from his non-Bumiputra equivalent. It has been patent for sometime, for instance, that political justice for the Malay would include minimally a continued domination of the nation's political process and, perhaps less strenuously upheld – a process of incorporation of non-indigenous people into a Malay-based culture. Such notions would hardly be agreeable to non-Malays.

Likewise, the unproblematic value "equality" may, upon analysis, reveal radically different interpretations. In education, proposed point system (points for merit, points for socio-economic status – i.e. weighted towards those lower on the scale) may upon implementation generate as much, if not more controversies – as the present quota system which, though unjust, nonetheless enjoys the merit of simplicity and unambiguity. (The point is *not* that this author favours a quota system, but that "operationalization" of Aliran's "Basic Beliefs" may merely re-ignite old conflicts, not eliminate them.)

Aliran is nonetheless correct to point out that the current system cannot continue indefinitely without adverse effects. The kernal of its social antique – i.e. that irrational structural conditions in the present Malaysian system have tended to divert individuals from choosing rationally and non-ethnically – is a valuable observation. In the present circumstances of a dearth of reflection on a non-ethnic alternative to nation-building, Aliran's writings undoubtedly constitute a valuable pioneering contribution. In this context, the very act of raising questions in hitherto unquestioned areas is perhaps of greater significance than the answers attempted.

When Aliran does venture to translate normative concepts into action-programmes, however, controversies are bound to arise (e.g. on what new pattern of distribution is "just"?). Herein, also, social philosophy operates subject to the discipline of the empirical social sciences, and thus must be complemented by a vigorous social science.

In numerous areas of public policy, however, political science, economics, and sociology can only give limited guidance to the social philosopher in its quest for social progress. This paucity of prescriptive guidance reflects the uneven reliability, and often also, general uncertainty of knowledge in the empirical domains covered by these disciplines. For instance, what are the economic and political consequences of an autarchic restructuring of Malaysian economy along the lines of basic needs? What are the political implications of a new educational policy that does away with ethnic quota altogether? What consequences would follow if democratization cause a broad based pan-ethnic coalition to seek the diminution (and ultimate abolition) of Malay royalty?

The limitations of Aliran's action prescriptions, in other words, illustrate the limitations of theoretical (causal) and empirical knowledge in Malaysian politics. Aliran is correct to insist on the urgency of a broad based political education to render behavioural content to democratic citizenship. Aliran is also correct to insist on the role of a "holistic" philosophy, lest the ruins of specialist knowledge should leave man bewildered in amoral no-man's land. What we would insist, however, is that such normative visions be disciplined by a theoretical and empirical political science of increasing reliability, without which good intentions alone may be insufficient.

IV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The brief survey of the history and genesis of political science in Malaysia suggests the following generalizations and recommendations for the future.

(1) The discipline's introduction into the curriculum of university education in Malaysia was ambiguous, misinformed and biased toward particular strains in the discipline. While the initial misperceptions of political science have now largely dissipated and the discipline has come into its own as a subject of teaching and research at the university level, anomalies remain to be corrected, particularly at the University of Malaya.

(2) Two glaring weaknesses or biases in disciplinary development appear to have been a parochial orientation to "Malaysia" or Malaysia-centric research and insensitivity to interdisciplinary perspectives. The discipline needs, therefore, to break new ground in terms of a sharper focus on larger Third World issues and problems beyond those of pluralist-ethnic politics and in terms of developing interdisciplinary orientations such as political economy, political sociology and political anthropology.

(3) The historical academic penetration of American political scientists and American political science traditions must be counteracted by the development of a truly indigenous-based discipline, by which we mean development of the discipline in the following two directions:

(i) promoting more committed scholarship among Malaysian political scientists, namely to encourage those studies and research that seek to redress or ameliorate socially undesired trends in society or conversely to encourage those that positively support desired social states. The definition of social goals should be based on the material socio-economic conditions existing in Malaysian society, rather than on *a priori* abstraction of values from Western or other non-indigenous models of development.

(ii) promoting more local intellectual collaboration among Malaysian political scientists so that they may share and exchange ideas more fruitfully in creating a Malaysian-based corpus of literature on politics in the country.

Apart from problems specific to the individual institutions as presented and discussed earlier on, there are a variety of problems common to the political science learning and teaching situation as a whole. Below we summarise a list which attempts a cross-sectional survey which is in no way exhaustive but instead highlights the more pressing problems.

(1) The most immediate problem facing Malaysian universities today is that of a rapidly increasing student population. From humble beginnings barely a decade ago, university intake has been projected at approximate 10,000 in the 1990s. This situation has serious implications for teaching effectiveness in large overcrowded classes. There is also the imminent danger of decreased student receptivity. It is already becoming evident in a number of Malaysian universities that an undergraduate sojourn is taken to mean "a four year run through the mill". This facet of university developmental growth is unsettling especially when the declining quality of academic output as a whole is taken into consideration.

(2) The teacher and student of political science (like his fellow colleagues) are becoming increasingly exposed to a bureaucratization of the teaching-learning process. The "rationalization" of the academic process initiated through the take-over of the universities by ministerial bureaucracies in the mid 70s is felt even more so today as key leadership positions at the universities are occupied by bureaucrat-administrators who "administer" policies leaving the academic populace to carry out the subduing task of "executing policies". This unwished for enroachment on the autonomy and sanctity of the academic preserve is already becoming felt through an increase in the influence of administrators in academic policy and curriculum planning decision-making processes.

This has caused the progressive weakening of realistic demarcation between academc and administration. The dilemma of today's teaching political scientist is that he is often left guessing as to whether he is actually imparting knowledge or realising certain bureaucratically determined priorities.

(3) Government policy stresses the need that all courses at undergraduate level be taught in the national language, *Bahasa Malaysia* by 1984. The overzealousness of the transition from English to *Bahasa Malaysia* has also its toll on both teachers and students, those in political science subjects included. Students presently from Malay medium secondary schools are unable to approach academic reading materials in English. The situation is further "burdened" by the fact that the translation of texts from English to *Bahasa Malaysia* is not rapid enough to meet readers' demands.

A direct consequence of this dilemma is that students depend too vehemently on lecture notes or the limited resources available in *Bahasa Malaysia* – at the cost of wanting to expand their reading horizons to cover English works. Learning becomes therefore "cramming" of limited available reading resources in monolingual terms. When compared with established political science programmes where a knowledge of three languages is encouraged, the Malaysian student is adapting to one (*Bahasa Malaysia*) and slowly "delearning" the other (English).

(4) Coupled with the above problem of reading habits is that of the lack of adequate background knowledge and poor analytical skills. There is definitely an enroaching parochialization of thinking patterns, especially among social science majors who rarely perceive man, society and state as issue orientations but rather as "subject matter" to be functionalized as exam materials.

(5) There is also the semester system to reckon with. What was once conceived as a novelty of curriculum planning is proving to be more of a handicap to effective learning and teaching. The two semester system reduces considerably study and course time in political science and makes in-depth learning rather difficult. There is simply insufficient time to embark on a purposeful investigation of pertinent issues. As opposed to the academic year system, the semester system has in the past restricted the continuity in course offered. As political science requires linkage build-up courses this hazard is painfully felt.

Also there is the danger that students tend to associate a semester as a short-term period of study culminating in the accumulation of certain credit hours and course units. This attitude maims the very spirit of scholastic pursuit and substitutes it with an unhealthy time-space syndrome mentality with regard to learning (and teaching too!).

(6) Finally, one has reason to ponder upon the future fate of the discipline in its pure forms at the various institutions of higher learning. Current experience speaks of alarmingly rapid drops in registration for majors, a drift to management and economics, complaints about the "marketability" of the subject and finally questions pertaining to its relevance and function in society. The day is slowly approaching in Malaysia when political science shall "have to take the stand" and "speak out in its defense."

A number of problems can be listed in the field of political science research that reflect the general feeling and atmosphere of the local academic community.

(1) There is a general feeling that political science research in the country remains on a low key because of the isolatedness of the profession. Most of the academic political scientists engaged in research are located in various academic or non-academic bodies and function in relative isolation. There is a dire need for an organized pooling of resources. Stephen Chee's[61] suggestion that the creation of a Social Science Research Unit within large departments with links to a Social Science Research Centre within each university merits serious attention. This Council would serve to bridge the gap between the university and non-university community and yet be sufficiently autonomous so as to aggregate the research interests of academicians. Also there should be more serious attempts to push for the establishment of a professional association such as the Malaysian Political Science Association.[62]

(2) Demotivation and the general apathy among local political scientists is

also seen as another hindrance towards the development of dynamic political science research activity. Demotivation arises here out of restrictions of research horizons through constitutional amendments and the Sedition Act of 1971 that prohibits the discussions (by speech and print) of certain issues considered "sensitive" and therefore vital for the preservation of national security. This form of state interference is often perceived as a direct assault on academic freedom in research.

Whether they originate from local or foreign scholars, research findings are not always palatable to the government which demands a certain amount of "reasonable responsibility from the scholar or researcher" with regards to his studies, especially those touching on the so-called "sensitive issues". Scholars however, have a commitment to academic norms and values or even their sense of justice. These contending demands put the researcher in a quandary at times.

(3) Heavy teaching loads and large classes are another impediment to research. There is no procedure to release staff for research apart from the usual sabbatical at the end of a specific period. Reverting back to a more sanely spaced academic year system might give greater opportunity of research to staff members. But the development of research involves more than just this. It entails an intertwined programme of upgrading research competence, creating a conducive atmosphere within universities for research by providing more funds and the recognition and rewarding of publications.[63]

(4) Malaysian research in the field of the political science has also been largely inhibited by the general paucity of specialized academic journal outlets. However, there are signs that this situation is changing. The National University of Malaysia edits three Social Science Journals *namely Nusantara, Journal of the Arts and Sciences in Southeast Asia* and *Akademika.* U.S.M., on the other hand, has *Malaysian Research* and *Malaysian Development Digest* to its credit. The University of Malaya publishes *Pentadbir* (published annually by its Public Administration Club) and *Kajian Ekonomi Malaysia* published jointly by the University and the Malaysian Economic Association. However, social science journals considered most prestigious are foreign publications especially from Singapore and Great Britain, also from the U.S.A. and Canada.

Current problems of the political science profession (and there are numerous) reflect, in part, its novelty and 'alien' intellectual origins, the increasingly complex and uncertain legal-political environment as well as problems *internal* to political science such as the uneven reliability of its knowledge claims, and its slow progress in attempting to arrive at synoptic, universally valid theories of politics. The uneven reliability and questionable universality of significant areas of political science has confined the discipline's role in the area of application – selected 'technocratic' areas of government (such as PPBS) and development administration, while it remains marginal in important areas such as international security and foreign policy.

In an important sense, political science may have been forced into a defensive position because the democratic vision to which it is integral has been dimmed somewhat by Malaysian disappointment and disenchantment with the nation's democratic experience. Nonetheless, this disenchantment, though real, can only be corrected by the gradual process of public education towards a broad based democratic political culture. In the process, the political scientist may find a significant role as educator, citizen, and opinion leader: A vibrant democracy depends ultimately upon such forms of participation, for it is out of genuine participation that political self-respect comes. Without the self-respect derived from such an active involvement, many of our current public order problems cannot be effectively dealt with.

NOTES

[1] M. Kamlin, "Teaching of Politics/International Relations courses in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences: An Inquiry into the Need for a Department Structure." (Unpublished paper, Kuala Lumpur, 1976).

[2] Interview with Dr. Kamlin, Sept. 1982.

[3] Subsequently, School of Social Sciences.

[4] David Easton, *A Framework for Political Analysis,* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965.

[5] Harold Lasswell, *Who Gets What, When, How?* New York: Meridian Books, 1958.

[6] Karl Deutsch, *Politics and Government: How People Decide their Fate.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970.

[7] American political and academic influence in Malaysia in general will be discussed in the next section.

[8] See Felix Gagliano, "Political Science" in John Lent, ed., *Social Science Research in Malaysia,* Southeast Asia Publication Series, Northern Illinois University, De Kalb, 1978, p. 136.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] As cited in *ibid.*, p. 137.

[11] B.A. Ngun and Lenny Siegel, "The US in Malaysia," *Pacific Research and World Empire Telegram,* May-June 1976, p. 10.

[12] Presumably, the reference here is to British advisors, who continued to influence Malaya in the immediate post-independence period.

[13] Read, US-influenced planners.

[14] "The US in Malaysia," p. 10.

[15] "The US in Malaysia," p. 11.

[16] K.J. Ratnam received his graduate training at University of British Columbia, Vancouver, and London School of Economics and Political Science.

[17] See for instance, R.S. Milne, *Government and Politics in Malaysia* (1967), R.K. Vasil, *Politics in a Plural Society* (1971) and A. Rabushka's *Race and Politics in Urban Malaya* (1973) and as host of others reviewed in Tham Seong Chee, *Social Science Research in Malaysia* (1981), pp. 69-72.

[18] See Section II.

[19] For a more comprehensive review of trends in teaching and research, please refer to See Section II.

[20] See, for example, Herbert Feith, "Southeast Asia and Neo-Colonialism" in F.P. Wolfers, ed., *Looking North to South-East Asia: The View from Australia,* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976.

[21] This account is based on the Report by Dr. Zakaria Haji Ahmad, Co-ordinator of the project, entitled "Malaysian Politics and Government Project (MPG): A Brief Report" (1979), and our own recollections of it.

[22] "MPG: A Brief Report" (cited earlier), p. 4.

[23] "MPG: A Brief Report" (cited earlier), p. 3.

[24] Apart from the universities, political science courses are also offered at the National Institute of Public Administration (to be discussed later). NIPA was established in 1972; organizes short training programmes for government employees.

The MARA Institute of Technology in Shah Alam, Selangor offers a 3-year diploma course in Law and Administration. The curriculum includes a battery of political science courses ranging from government to development administration.

[25] This study concentrates mainly on undergraduate courses, insofar as teaching is concerned. Post-graduate studies could not be included due to lack of sufficient data at time of writing. Also most post-graduate programmes are in principle courses by thesis and as such there are no clearly defined course work components worthy of detailed scrutiny.

[26] Formerly the School of Comparative Social Sciences.

[27] Institut Tadbiran Awam Negara.

[28] While most of the Centre's research and seminar reports are classified materials with restricted distribution, a comprehensive listing is available, mainly in the form of the Malaysian Centre for Development Studies catalogue. The Centre also publishes a semi annual journal *Development Forum*, a bi-annual journal *Dialog* and an irregularly issued journal *Development Digest.*

[29] We have chosen the Centre for Policy Research for detailed scrutiny as an example of non university political studies research activity.

[30] The CPR Handbook provides a complete list of current and past publications.

[31] Chee, Stephen, *A Survey of the Social Sciences in Malaysia,* (Kuala Lumpur 1974), pg. 26.

[32] For a discussion on this categorization, see Sartori, Giovanni "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics" in the *American Political Science Review* (64: 1033-1053).

[33] Currently some historians are engaged in research on areas of concern that political science tend to focus on. It is still common in Malaysia to find history graduates who, in pursuing higher degrees switch to political science.

[34] Seong Chee Tham, *Social Science Research in Malaysia,* (Singapore 1981), pg. 64.

[35] Apart from those already listed for discussion include, the political culture of international relations, national unity and dissent, indigenous social structures and political attitudes and communication.

[36] Kay Kim, Khoo *Traditional Malay Politics* (Federated Museum Journal, 1968).

[37] Mohammed, Mahathir *The Malay Dilemma* (Kuala Lumpur 1970).

[38] C. Pillay, *Protection of the Malay community: A study of UMNO's position and opposition attitudes* (M.A. Thesis, University of Science Malaysia 1974). He has since published various articles and books the most significant of which is "Protector – a brief analysis of the patron-client phenomenon in Malay political culture" (Penang 1979).

[39] Y. Mansoor Merican, *Political Accommodation of Primordial Parties: DMK (India) and PAS (Malaysia)* (British Columbia 1977).

[40] *Malaysia – New States in a New Nation* (1974).

[41] B. Simandjuntakis, *Malayan Federalism 1945-1963* (1969).

[42] Ness, Gayl: *Bureaucracy and Rural Development in Malaysia* (1967).

[43] Esmen, Milton: *Administration and Development in Malaysia. Institution Building and Reform in a Plural Society* (1972).

[44] Chee, Stephen *Rural Local Government and Development Administration in Malaysia* (New York 1974).

with Siew Mun, Khoo, *Malaysian Economic Development and Policies* (Kuala Lumpur 1974).

Chee, Stephen, *Issues in Politics and Administration Development* (unpublished, Kuala Lumpur 1974).

[45] Cheema, Shabbir, "Malaysian Development Strategy, the dilemma of redistribution with growth," in *Studies in Comparative International Development* 1978, 13(2) pp. 40-55.

[46] Ahmad, Zakaria, "Political Violence in Malaysia. The Malayan Emergency and its Impact," *in Nusantara* (5, July 1980), pp. 1-16.

[47] Ahmad, Zakaria, "The Bayonet and the Truncheon: Army-Police Relations in Malaysia," in *The Journal of Asian Affairs,* (Tell Vol. III nr 2) 1978.

[48] Khaw Guat Hoon, *Malaysian policies in SEA 1957-1970* (Ph.D. Thesis, Geneva 1972).

[49] e.g. the Strategic Studies Programme and the Off-Campus (Distance Education) Programme.

[50] One exception is the reaction to the Amendment to the Societies Act (Feb. 1979) when six political scientists wrote a column in the *Star*, June 17, 1981, chastising the infringement of government on the right of democratic participation.

[51] Exceptions are Dr. Goh Cheng Teik and Deputy Prime Minister, Musa Hitam, both of which have post graduate training in political science.

[52] For an account of the story of political science at UM, see, Kamlin, op. cit., and Stephen Chee, op. cit.

[53] Source: Records Office, University of Malaya.

[54] The Chairman of the Political Science Programme noted that in the freshman class, there is currently no non-Malay majoring in the subject.

[55] More recently a social science lecturer has been served a warning by the University authorities concerned for questioning the position of Malay rulers. See also Gagliano, op. cit., p. 140.

[56] A total of 32 questionnaires were sent out to political scientists, of which 15 replies were received.

[57] F. Galiano, op. cit., p. 156-158.

[58] Margaret Roff (1974) *The Politics of Belonging: Political Change in Sabah and Sarawak* (London: Oxford University Press).

[59] Interview with Loh Kok Wah, Lecturer, School of Comparative Social Sciences, the Science University of Malaysia.

[60] Remarks by Dr. Goh Cheng Teik, reported in the *Straits Times*, 11, 12, 13 Jan. 1983, Parts 1, 2, and 3.

[61] Chee, Stephen, *A Survey of Social Sciences in Malaysia*, (Kuala Lumpur 1974), pp. 45.

[62] There are less than a dozen national professional associations of social scientists in Malaysia. In general, these associations have been relatively tame and unclear in their identities and structurally unstable in terms of membership and financial standing. An encouraging development, however, was the formation of the Malaysian Social Science Association and its convening of a major conference on Modernization and National-Cultural Identity on January 10-12, 1983 at Kuala Lumpur.

[63] The rather lethargic rate of growth of social science research publications and activities is because of its relative low standing in the promotional exercise. The University administration and Public Services Department which oversees promotion tends to place seniority and personal contacts before academic outputs.

Appendix I

List of Interviewees

University of Malaya

1. Dr. Stephen Chee (Professor)
2. Dr. Lee Poh Ping (Associate Professor)
3. M. Pathmanathan (Lecturer)

Universiti Sains Malaysia

1. Dr. Khaw Guat Hoon (Associate Professor)
2. Mr. Lim Hong Hai (Chairman, Political Science)
3. Dr. Loh Kok Wah (Chairman, Sociology)
4. Dr. Chandra Muzaffar (Lecturer)

National Institute of Public Administration

1. Hasmy B. Agam (Head, Centre for International Relations and Diplomacy)

Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

1. Dr. Harold Crouch (Associate Professor)
2. Dr. Mohamed Ali Kamlin (Associate Professor)
3. Ghazali Mayudin (Lecturer)
4. Saidah Abdullah (Lecturer)
5. Heng Pek Khoon (Lecturer)

EIGHT

INDIA: *Iqbal Narain*
P.C. Mathur

I. PREFATORY REMARKS

The present status-report attempts to portray the intellectural as well as institutional aspects of the development of the discipline of political science in India. Given the limitation of space, we have compressed many details into synoptic generalizations which can indicate only overall trends and tendencies.

Observers of the Indian social science scene complain about the lack of centralized facilities for collection and analysis of data regarding the status of a discipline. It is very difficult to obtain quantitative, let alone qualitative, information about the institutional development of social science disciplines, despite the best efforts of such all-India organizations as the University Grants Commission (UGC) and the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR).

The present status-report, in fact, represents our *third* attempt to survey the state of the art with respect to political science in India, yet no one can be more conscious of the gaps and limitations of our presentation. We made our first attempt towards the end of 1979 while responding to an invitation to present a paper at the Special meeting on Political Science in the Developing countries organised by the International Political Science Association and the Indian Political Science Association at the University of Calcutta, Calcutta (India) on November 25-28, 1979; this paper has been subsequently printed in the *International Political Science Handbook.* The second attempt to survey the state of political science was a little more systematic as it was undertaken as part of the official responsibility of the senior author (Iqbal Narain) as the Convener of the UGC panel on political science. The experience gained in these two efforts was utilized to mount a still more systematic effort in preparing the present status report. For the purpose, a questionnaire was prepared and mailed to all the heads of the political science departments in Indian universities. After 3 or 4 reminders, however, only 43 completed questionnaires were received back as per details given in appendix-I. This means that approximately half of the total political science departments in the universities remained out of our coverage, let alone the question of including the hundreds of colleges where postgraduate teaching in political science is conducted. Another limitation of our coverage relates to numerous research institutes where political science also figures, though, more often than not, only in a marginal sense.

Given the self-admitted limitations of the quantitative information at our disposal, we would like to emphasize that we sincerely believe that the qualitative insights gained by us during our long association with the organizational as well as intellectual development of the discipline import a measure of reliability to our synoptic observations.

II. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

Amongst the numerous 'disciplines' featuring in the syllabi for first (Bachelor's), second (Master's) and third (Doctorate) degrees in over 120 universities in India, "Political Science" enjoys a numerical prominence, the intellectual potential of which is yet to be fully realized in terms of institutionalized teaching or innovative research. In a sense, political science is a discipline of great antiquity rich in philosophical and/or theoretical maxims propounded by men of ideas as well as men of action at varying times and places. However, its advent as a university-based academic branch of learning is a relatively recent phenomenon even in the great western universities where even now fierce debates rage over its exact nomenclature: "Politics", "Government", "Political Philosophy" and "Political Thought" being some of the well-known alternatives to "Political Science". While comparing the situation with India, one could argue that the nomenclature 'Political Science' here has almost edged out competing titles.

Political Science, despite the addition of 'Science' to it as an epithet, is categorized as a sub-branch of learning in arts or humanities. Recently, a tendency has been developing to cut it off from Arts Faculty and place it alongwith such disciplines as economics, sociology and public administration, within the newly carved out faculties of social sciences. The Indian Council of Social Science Research, established as a nodal developmental and regulatory agency by the Government of India in 1969 to look after social sciences – on the lines of councils operating in the field of agriculture (Indian Council of Agricultural Research), Medicine (Indian Council of Medical Research), History (Indian Council of Historical Research), Philosophy (Indian Council of Philosophical Research), and Physical Sciences (Council of Scientific and Industrial Research) – has accepted "Political Science" as one of the disciplines falling under its institutional canopy. With the gradual formation of social science faculties in Indian universities, political science is moving closer to other disciplines which profess a much greater faith in the scientific method as a tool of enquiry and analysis than an assortment of humanistic disciplines like literature, philosophy, and history. The transfer of political science from arts to social sciences faculty has made the political scientists grapple with conceptual complexities of such basic issues as philosophy *v.* science, and values *v.* the scientific method.

1. Academic Advent

Political science made its debut on the Indian academic horizon as part of the systematized knowledge-packs introduced under the British auspices. However, it was, relatively speaking, a latecomer which acquired an autonomous status only towards the twilight of the British Raj. Two major reasons seem to account for this eventuality. First, in the British campuses, notably Oxford and Cambridge, political science was not accepted as an independent body of knowledge which could be pursued as a separate discipline. It had a fragmented identity. Its philosophical, intellectual, and ideational postulates were handled by students of philosophy; the history of political ideas was a matter of concern for students of history; comparative study of constitutional and institutional structures was regarded as falling in the jurisdiction of law (or better still, constitutional law). Very few British university departments catered to this three-fold ensemble in its entirety even after the turn of the century when great political scientists were laying the foundation of courses in political theory. Political theory remains the king-pin of political science in the United Kingdom even today, providing intellectual sustenance but depriving it of the type of academic comprehensiveness which the discipline has acquired in other countries, including India. The second reason which might have prompted the British educational policy makers to apply the brakes in the introduction of political science in Indian universities relates to the status of India then as a political dependency, in which infection of ideas regarding classical debates over freedom, justice and political obligation were bound to trigger off questions and doubts about the legitimacy of the British rule in India. Despite this, many enterprising Indians had acquired a good deal of familiarity with the main currents of the political ideas of the modern West. Even before the British crown had formally taken over the reins of government from the British East India Company, Indian activists had started to use them as weapons to question the rationale of British hegemony over India. Although the writings of men like Raja Rammohun Roy (1772-1833), Dadabhai Nauroji (1825-1917), M.G. Ranade (1842-1901), and R.C. Dutt (1884-1909) underlined the "un-British" character of the British rule referring to the gap between their professed political ideas and their practice in India. In the wake of the turn of the century, with the Indian national Congress acquiring ascendency, and militant political formations like secret societies and terrorist groups coming into being, a 'lively "political" debate ensued between the Indian nationalists demanding "Self-Government" and the British rulers advocating the virtues of "Good Government". The debate was, essentially, conducted in the idiom familiar to political science dons in United Kingdom who might have, therefore, thought it prudent to go slow in providing more ammunition to the Indian protagonists by way of familiarising them with the principles and propositions of political theory which had come to be dominated by liberal-democratic doctrines.

2. Intellectual Pedigree

However, the British did introduce a number of university-based intellectual disciplines in the Indian educational system and history, law, and philosophy were amongst the earliest disciplines to be so institutionalized. Since present-day political science courses partake major segments from all these three disciplines, the origins of political science can be said to precede the formal establishment of university departments imparting Master's level training in political science. While the intellectual pedigree of political science in India can be traced to the trinity of philosophy, law, and history, the discipline has largely belonged to history departments in terms of its institutional location. Most of the courses now handled by political science departments were (and in some cases, are) being handled by history departments. In fact, most of the founding professors of political science had history degrees and had spent long periods of teaching and research in the domain of that discipline. Even today many political science researches bear a clear imprint of history, historicism, and well-known research methods of historigraphy.

Compared to the intellectual and institutional nexus between history and political science, the bonds between law and political science, on the one hand, and philosophy and political science, on the other, are rather indistinct and mainly ideational. Given the excellence of law schools in the United Kingdom, where large number of Indian students began to flock, teaching of law in India has remained rather poorly organized in terms of serious study and research. To whatever extent research in law could flourish, the vista had naturally been much broader than mere constitutional law which links up law and political science as disciplines. Still the tradition of legal formal studies of the constitution in India, which have been quite popular, have a distinct imprint of the legal approach. The philosophy departments have attained high degree of academic excellence. However, most philosophy teachers have remained institutionally cut-off from the rather mundane concerns of disciplines like political science. As far as intellectual linkages are concerned, they have only belonged to the realm of political philosophy. These linkages further weakened over the years as the scope of political science widened to cover other aspects such as the study of political institutions, international relations, constitutional history and the like.

3. Institutional Origins

Teaching of political science in India thus originated in the form of specific courses within the overall framework of history syllabi. It was at a later stage that quite a large number of political science departments were carved out of history departments. Of course, during the last two decades or so the phenomenon of these 'break aways' has become rare. Most of the new universities in India are being equipped with full-fledged political science departments right from the inception. The process of political science departments coming into existence as a result of severing their links from history departments is going on in the case of colleges in the country, many of which are still functioning with combined departments of history and political science. Below we give a couple of illustrations of the institutional history of the development of political science in India.

Case 1 : The Political Science Department of the Osmania University, Hyderabad is today, in terms of student-enrolment and staff members, one of the two biggest departments in the Faculty of Social Science. Courses in political science were being taught in this University in the history department since August 28, 1919. Political science acquired the status of a 'co-equal' discipline in 1930 when a new department called 'The Department of History and Political Science' was established. However, the Department of Political Science was established as a separate and full fledged department in 1948.

Case 2 : At Allahabad University, a 'Department of Civics and Politics' was established in 1930 but the first three heads (Dr. Beni Prasad, Dr. Ishwari Prasad, and Dr. Tarachand) were professors of history. By the end of forties, the 'civics' in its title fell into disuse and it came to be known as Department of Politics.

Case 3 : At Agra University, teaching in political science is conducted in the affiliated colleges. In its three affiliated colleges in Agra namely Agra College, B.R. College, and St. John's College teaching of political science started as part and parcel of history departments before independent departments of political science were established.

4. Political Science and public Administration

While most of the older political science departments have emerged from history departments during the thirties and forties, many political science departments have sponsored under their own auspices, teaching and research in public administration which is now gradually emerging as a separate and independent academic discipline, despite the continued existence of several 'combined' departments of political science and public administration. As a body of intellectual learning, Public administration was incorporated in political science syllabi in several Indian universities during the late forties and early fifties, but since mid-fifties it is gradually acquiring a distinct personality of its own, giving rise to a series of splits in political science departments where studies relating to public administration had reached a stage of maturity. However, in many cases, public administration has not yet been able to acquire institutional independence, although its intellectual autonomy is being maintained in combined departments of political science and public administration. However, it can not be denied that potential and limitations of administration cannot be understood in isolation from pulls and swings of the political process, particularly in developing countries like India. Even at the risk of digression, it will not be out of place to mention here that a similar effort on the part of International politics to assert its autonomy as a separate discipline seems to have registered little success. Given, however, the dynamics of intellectual development in the domain of administrative studies the days of combined departments appears to be numbered and by the turn of this century the fissioning-off of Public Administration departments can be expected to be complete. A few concrete cases would illustrate this trend.

Case 1 : At Poona University, Department of Politics was established in June, 1950; it was converted into a Department of Politics and Public Administration in August 1956 and is still continuing to impart instruction in M.A., M. Phil. and Ph.D. in political science and to offer a one-year post-graduate diploma in public administration.

Case 2 : At Sambalpur University, a Department of Political Science was established in 1968; in 1980 Master's level teaching in Public Administration was also started under its auspices and it was re-named as Department of Political Science and Public Administration.

Case 3 : At Saugar University, a department of Political Science was established in August 1946; in July 1969, this department started Master's level teaching in Public administration also and was re-named as Department of Political Science and Public Administration.

Case 4 : At Osmania University, in the Department of Political Science (which had been established in 1948) public administration formed an "important" part of curricula but in 1956 an independent department of public administration was carved out of it.

A perusal of the replies furnished by various political science departments to us as well as their Plan proposals submitted to the University Grants Commission reveals that a large number of political science departments are trying to start Master's level teaching in public administration. Apart from the knotty institutional tensions (including inter-personal jealousies and rivalries) likely to be aroused on this score, this trend underlines an important intellectual trend : political science scholars in India are clearly signalling a preference for descriptive studies in which positivist methodologies of survey research can find some application and are drifting away from the familiar grooves of re-capitulating (and, occasionally, re-analysing sometimes even critically) the history of political ideas at the grandiose level of political theory. This is not to deny the trend towards teaching of administrative thought and organizational theory, which, however, is not uniform. Still, the association of political scientists with study and research in public administration has tended to import the much-needed "practice" dimension to "theory" in the realm of political science.

5. Patterns of Quantitative Growth

According to information compiled by J.S. Bains in 1969-70, only five universities in India had established independent political science departments upto 1938, the number going up to 15 by 1951, 36 upto 1967, and 59 upto 1971. Although no official count has been made subsequently, from the data available to the UGC Panel on Political Science, it is reasonable to infer that there are about 75 to 80 university departments in the country today. This means that 2 out of 3 universities in India are equipped with political science departments handling second-and third-degree courses, although some of them are responsible for first-degree teaching also.

The combination of undergraduate teaching with graduate teaching and research is largely due to the fact that during the sixties (but more frequently in the seventies) universities have come into existence by "upgrading" of pre-existing colleges which were affiliated to universities that were essentially examination – conducting bodies. These were responsible mainly for drawing up the syllabi and conducting examinations, while teaching was done in affiliated colleges. In the instant case of political science, during the forties and fifties, Agra University was one such household word over a large territory which now perhaps has over a score of universities most of which are conducting political science teaching under departmental auspices. Agra University still remains, essentially, an examination conducting body, though covering a very much reduced jurisdiction. Interestingly enough, in some cases the jurisdiction of such successor universities has been subjected to contraction not only once but even twice or thrice so that obscure colleges affiliated to distant universities only 20 or 30 years ago have now become the institutional nucleus of newly established universities. A few illustrative examples of this chain would perhaps make the point clear :

Case 1 : The University of Rajasthan was established in 1946 by taking out a large number of colleges hitherto affiliated to Agra University. It had started post-graduate teaching in a few disciplines during the fifties but it really gained its developmental momentum under the Vice-Chancellorship of

Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta by establishing a large number of post-graduate teaching departments in 1961-62; its present political science department was one of these but in 1962-63 it acquired responsibilities for undergraduate teaching also when, under an agreement with the State Government, four colleges located in Jaipur City were taken over by the University. Later, the M.B. College, Udaipur (which had been conducting Master Level teaching since 1949-50) was taken out of the jurisdiction of the University of Rajasthan and converted into a teaching department of the University of Udaipur. A similar development took place with respect to Jaswant College, Jodhpur, after the creation of a separate Jodhpur University. In all the three cases, the University teaching departments were bequeathed with a large number of teachers who were already members of the Rajasthan Education Service (R.E.S.) under the State Government and although this was treated a "one-shot" exercise the Ex-R.E.S. teachers still continue to dominate, numerically at least, all these three universities in Rajasthan.

Case 2 : During the first half of the seventies, a number of new universities were established in U.P. utilising the institutional nuclei of pre-existing colleges. The political science department of the Kumaun University, Nainital came into existence in this manner with Government college, Nainital providing its basic infrastructure.

Another path of institutional development of political science departments has been the conversion of regional post-graduate centres of various universities into separate universities. This action represents merely a change of form rather than of norms because teaching in such regional centres was directly amenable to university supervision and the 'parent' university tried its best to maintain academic standards in its far-flung outposts. Of course, these off-campus regional centres remained cut-off from the university's mainstream but, at least, the university could ensure a fairly high standard by proper faculty recruitment and, thus, when such regional centres were converted into the institutional nuclei of newly-established universities, the start did not have to be made from scratch as there was already a university tradition to back it. Some specific cases of this type are listed below:

Case 1 : In 1966 Panjab University, Chandigarh, established regional centres for conducting, *inter alia*, post graduate studies in political science at Simla and Rohtak which came to constitute the respective political science departments of the Himachal Pradesh and Rohtak universities in 1970 and 1976 respectively.

Case 2 : Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi established a number of post-graduate regional centres in North-East India out of which the political science department of the North-Eastern Hill University came into existence in 1974.

6. Courses

Whatever be the institutional genesis, over 75 university teaching departments of political science exist in India imparting Master's level instruction in all cases, and, in some cases, handling bachelor's level courses (including Honours). All these university teaching departments of political science are, formally speaking, equipped to handle Ph.D. level research supervision and at least one-fifth to one-fourth have started M.Phil. courses which have attained a great deal of popularity during the last decade as an easy-to-get passport to academic jobs in the wake of newly prescribed UGC qualifications for a lecturership in a college/university department. *Appendix II* gives detailed information in this regard with respect to the 43 universities which responded to our questionnaire. The data clearly show that Honours courses at the Bachelors' level are rather rare in case of political science while more and more departments are going in for M.Phil. courses.

7. Student Enrolment

With the notable exception of political science departments located in Western states of India, political science courses at the undergraduate as well as graduate levels regularly attract a large number of students. In fact, in response to our question, several departments have indicated that year after year they receive far more applications for admission than the availability of seats. Under the growing pressure of admission-seekers, many political science departments have, in fact, increased their 'intake' while only a few have managed to successfully adopt a policy of pegging their strength at manageable levels. It is really a matter of satisfaction that the ideal teacher-student ratio of 1:10 still prevails in political science departments at universities like NEHU (1:8), Bangalore (1:9), Poona (1:9), Burdwan (1:8), and Marathwada (1:7) while a satisfactory situation prevails in universities like Berhampur (1:14), North Bengal (1:15), Sambalpur (1:15), Jammu (1:15), Nagpur (1:18), and Venkateshwar (1:15) but the growing clamour for admission is soon bound to lead to a deterioration in the situation specially in the Hindi-speaking region where much higher teacher-student ratios already prevail. The contributory factor here relates to the impression that political science is an 'easy' subject as far as securing 'pass' marks is concerned. As per details about the undergraduate and graduate enrolment during the quinquennium 1976-77 – 1980-81, regarding 43 universities given in *Appendix III*, it is clear that the beginning of "diminishing returns" is nowhere in sight as far as popularity of political science degrees is concerned.

8. Correspondence Courses

The foregoing discussion, it would be pertinent to point out, relates to regular university teaching departments of political science. In addition to the regular students who secure Master's degree in political science, a growing number of students is now being handled by the University Correspondence Institutes, most of which have given a high priority to establish correspondence courses in political science which, usually, attract the greatest number of degree-seekers. *Appendix IV* gives details of such correspondence courses in political science in the 43 universities. Of course, in the absence of precise figures, it is difficult to specify the quantitative magnitude involved, but at least in the case of the universities like those of Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh and Panjab, it can be safely asserted that the number of students earning a Master's degree under correspondence course programme is a multiple of 5 to 10 of the students getting the same degree as regular students. A fear is sometimes expressed that the development may lead to dilution of standards, particularly if correspondence courses are treated just as a money-making enterprise and efforts at quality control become lax.

9. A University-Based Discipline

It is here appropriate to highlight one important characteristic of development of political science as an academic discipline in India; the subject is not only university based but is virtually, university bound.

Unlike its other cognates such as economics and public administration, on the one hand, and geography and psychology, on the other, political science as an intellectual field of study flourishes mainly inside university campuses; an overwhelming majority of political scientists are to be found in university teaching departments. No other public or private institution seems to provide opportunities for political scientists to display skills or knowledge pertaining to political science *qua* political science. In this respect, political science appears to be a major exception to the rule, as social science degree holders are otherwise being absorbed by a variety of institutions on account of their professional expertise. In fact, in the case of other disciplines, the university teaching department based scholars would be outnumbered by the scholars well-versed in these disciplines but based in research institutes established under various public enactments alone. Thus, leaving aside private unregistered research organizations, a very high proportion of the country's total pool of economists, psychologists, statisticians and geographers is to be found in research institutes outside the university system. However, in the case of political science, a handful of political scientists only are likely to be found in institutions other than the universities. In fact, with the encompassing of the Indian School of International Studies, by the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, there is hardly any institutional forum anywhere in the country which is exclusively, or overwhelmingly, devoted to political science studies, whereas one can easily mention names of dozens of well endowed prestigious research institutes which are exclusively or overwhelmingly manned by scholars belonging to other social sciences. Even students of disciplines in humanities like literature and history can have recourse to such exclusive research institutions, as the Nehru Museum, New Delhi and the American Studies Research Centre, Hyderabad. But, as far as political science is concerned, even in institutes which carry the discipline as part of their name, like the Gokhale Institute of Economics and Politics, Poona, it would be rare to find political scientists occupying key positions; even if some political scientists do manage to enter such research institutes they, more often than not, are engaged in 'applied' studies in the domain of public administration (e.g. development administration). It may be stated that in the dozen or so social science research institutes sponsored and/or supported by the ICSSR since the mid-seventies, not more than half a dozen political scientists have found gainful research employment although their total faculty would be nearly one hundred.

The Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi (hence forth cited as CSDS) is, however, a notable exception. The CSDS is an institutional offshoot of the Indian Adult Education Association and is, essentially, a compact ensemble of scholars interested in inter-disciplinary enquiries but, owing to the inspiring academic thrust of its founder-director – Rajni Kothari – it has emerged as a premier locus of political science studies in the domain of 'Government and Politics in India". Besides Rajni Kothari himself, a number of other scholars, some of whom possess formal Master's and Doctoral degrees in political science, have made seminal contributions to political science research and have, indeed, made it possible for the political science departments in the universities to widen and deepen the range of research in political science, making the analysis of political process as prime focus and introducing an interdisciplinary perspective. Launched in 1963, the CSDS has, so far, retained its vitality and momentum despite getting embroiled in serious ideological cross-fires. In spite of the intellectual encomia earned for its academic outputs, it has, however, not been able to develop meaningful institutional or interpersonal linkages with most political scientists who are based in the universities in the country. More recently, the Centre for Social Sciences Study, Calcutta, has begun to maintain a steady output of research materials which have a great relevance to political science studies although its faculty has only a couple of scholars with formal degrees in political science.

It may also not be out of place to mention that some political science scholars are also to be found in such non-university agencies as the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, National Institute of Rural Development, Hyderabad, and the Centre for Policy Research of New Delhi. Still the political science degree-holders have little hope of recruitment in these agencies which have preference for economists, sociologists, geographers, and even psychologists. Moreover, as already hinted, the discipline of public administration itself is acquiring greater maturity and political science degree holders will have to compete for research assignments in the institutions which need expertise in public administration.

It should also be noted that a significant proportion of political science students manage to enter the ranks of the Civil Service as this discipline figures prominently in the scheme of the recruitment-examination conducted by the Union and State Public Service Commissions. True, the premium attached to political science has gone down in the wake of reforms introduced in 1978-79. But, even now, knowledge of political science is quite useful and accounts, to a great extent, for the popularity of this discipline amongst the college and university students in India. Further, political science also figures prominently in the curriculum of the institutions responsible for pre-entry training of higher civil services at the Union as well as the State levels.

10. The Language Dimension

English being the link-language between India and United Kingdom, political science in India grew mainly along the contours of the literature available in English. It is also true that quite a bit of the literature in the discipline is being produced by English-speaking peoples who are heirs to the intellectual tradition of Great Britain even though they might be, citizens of separate countries like USA, Australia, Canada and so on. To be sure, political science flourished, and is flourishing, in non-English speaking countries also. But even today India-based political scientists have very little access to literature produced even in other European languages like

German, French and Italian, let alone in languages of the countries belonging to other continents like Asia, Africa, and Latin America. A great bulk of material used in political science studies consists of translations from Greek, German, French and Italian, to mention only the more prominent sources, but the fact remains that the translation activity has been carried out in large measure by scholars based in the United Kingdom or the United States. The political science students of India have been able to lay their hands upon the works of such pioneer political scientists as Plato, Aristotle, Hegel, and Machiavelli only because of their knowledge of the English language.

11. The US Impact

After flourishing as a British product for nearly five decades or so, political science in India started encountering the new conceptual and methodological orientations developed in the USA from the forties onwards. Momentous changes had already started occuring in the domain of social sciences in various US universities immediately after the First World war. The political science scholars in India (and for, that matter, in UK also) remained however virtually untouched by these ripples which rapidly acquired a great momentum and, after the Second World War, opened the flood-gates for the introduction of new paradigms and research techniques in the discipline of political science. In his pioneering book, ***Modern Political Theory***, S.P. Varma has already chronicled these changes from an Indian perspective. We shall be content by observing that with the advent of the fifties the American theories and techniques (and text books) in the field of political science studies had taken India by a storm which demolished many cherished political science traditions received from the British exponents. We are fully aware of the dangers of over-simplistic generalization involved in using blanket categories like "British Political Science" and "American Political Science" because neither in the UK nor in the USA political science has remained a monochromatic discipline dominated by only one variety of postulates and paradigms. In fact, "Behaviouralism", which pervaded "American Political Science" after the Second World war, came under attack later in the United States itself. In this survey we are mainly concerned with Indian perceptions and reactions which have, by and large tended to view British legacy in terms of emphasis on normative-institutional approaches while the main (innovatory) contribution of US scholars is viewed as a shift towards empirical orientation and methodological rigour. To be sure, the scientific method and the various research tools and techniques which proliferated in political science in the wake of the "Behavioural Revolution" are not a monopoly of US scholars but it is equally true that during the long period when political science in India remained under the British tutelage none of these approaches and models were included in the agenda for teaching and research. In fact, the re-orientations advocated by the US scholars appeared to be so radical and novel that many Indian political scientists lost no time in denouncing them as foreign and alien to the Indian genius swearing all the time by the classics introduced under the British auspices.

Public and private funding agencies based in the USA, in fact, made it possible for a very large number of Indian students of political science to acquire first-hand familiarity with American political science. Upto the end of the sixties the quantum of such two-way flows between the USA and India in one year would be more than the totality of such Indo-British encounters ever since the inception of political science studies in India. Since the mid-sixties, however, American influence in Indian political science declined. But its presence can still be felt to a far greater extent than the influence of the British tradition, as quite a few of the political scientists now occupying faculty positions in the various Indian universities have been trained in the United States.

12. Marxism-Leninism and Political Science in India

The discussion of foreign influences upon political science in India would remain incomplete without a reference to Marxism. In a very real sense, Marxism and Marxist scholars attempt to project an alternative to the whole corpus of political science as it had evolved in the post-Renaissance Europe. The Bolshevik success in capturing the reins of government in Czarist Russia, followed subsequently by the establishment of government professing Marxist ideology in Eastern Europe, People's Republic of China, Cuba and a host of other countries have elevated Marxism to the status of State philosophy which seeks to lay down precise guidelines for moulding and modulating all aspects, not only of political behaviour, but the entire range of what liberal democrats would characterize as 'others-regarding behaviour'. In fact, given the exigencies of state-building and capital formation, Marxist statesmen like Stalin went to the extent of even trying to control what the liberals designated as 'self-regarding behaviour' which, according to the latter, was to be left free from external controls and governmental regulation. Taken together, the theory and practice of Marxism (though there are almost inevitable gaps and tensions between the two, which this is not the occasion to discuss) have contributed several new approaches and paradigms to the study of socio-economic and political behaviour. In fact, no social science discipline has been left untouched by the radically different conceptual frameworks and analytical techniques advocated by theoreticians and practitioners of Marxism, which have, however, been differentially assimilated as far as various social science disciplines are concerned. Economics digested the maximum amount of change on this account, while geography and psychology are only now beginning to feel the initial impact of Marxism. Being rooted in the doctrine of historical materialism or economic interpretation of history, it was but natural that Marxism should produce the most significant impact on such disciplines as economics and history. But its very fundamental axiom about the primacy of the economic factor in human and social evolution challenges the supremacy of political science because it tends to relegate "politics" itself to secondary importance. The advocacy of "economic reductionism" in increasingly sophisticated forms posed a great challenge to the conventional social sciences all over the West in general and the USA in particular. The scholars began to think about ways of rebutting the basic Marxian thesis as it was projected, not simply as an assertion of ideological faith, but as an intellectual proposition. Political science faculties all over the West joined in this academic debate and echoes of these rumblings travelled to Indian campuses also where, in any case, controversies on this count had already been triggerred off by such university based advocates of Marxism as D.P. Mukherji, D.D. Kosambi and A.R. Desai, not to mention academically inclined political activists like M.N. Roy, Narendra Dev, Jaya Prakash Narain, and E.M.S. Namboodripad. To begin with, say upto the end of the thirties, the Marxist voices in the Indian campuses were rather muted but, as the various socialist and communist parties got better organized, they were able to mobilize a sizeable number of university academics, whose study and research began to embody and reflect the Marxian impact.

13. Ideological Cross-Fire

All these developments had a profound, indirect, effect on the conceptual orientation and course-content of political science in India. Whether they owe allegiance to the liberal-democratic or Marxist modes of analysis or not, political scientists in India find it convenient to adopt a posture of 'non-alignment' between the two contending world-views which are assiduously advocated by the two major super-powers. In the process, though they would not subscribe to explicit advocacy of annihilation of political science as a separate discipline on the model of the situation in communist countries (where one usually has political economy as a substitute of political science), they have come to realise that unless the interplay of economic and political forces is studied, it is not possible to comprehend the dynamics of political, let alone social, reality. The impact of Marxism has thus encouraged a syncretic approach which lays emphasis on the interplay of economic and political forces in actual life both at domestic and foreign policy levels.

14. Indigenization

While the exposure of political science in India to liberal democratic and Marxist influences enriched the corpus of research and teaching in the discipline, the study of Indian political thought, ideas, and institutions received a set back, particularly in the post-independence period. The study of ancient Indian political thought and institutions was either left to history departments or came to occupy the place of an elective subject/group in the political science syllabi. The study of medieval political tradition did not attract political scientists at all. However, they did study political ideas of the leaders of national movement in India and in this field some significant researches were carried out. More recently, some Indian scholars have begun to articulate demands for "indigenization" of political science syllabi. The political scientists have yet to pay serious attention to this issue beyond insisting that courses on "Ancient Indian Political Thought" and "Modern Indian Political Thought" should be introduced in the post-graduate syllabi.

III. TEACHING COURSES AND SYLLABI

Political Science in India has remained, pre-dominantly, a subject matter for teaching. Research in this field has trailled behind not only in terms of comparison with other social sciences like economics, psychology, sociology and social anthropology but even in terms of the dynamics of its own development. 'Teaching' and 'Research' constitute a continuum: serious teaching leads to new research questions and new researches generate fresh teaching materials. In the early-history of political science in India such mutually reinforcing situation between teaching and research was practically absent; there are however some hopeful signs of the emergence of such a syncretic syndrome.

1. Syllabi Structure

Most universities in India have been operating a two-year Master's degree teaching programme in political science structured in terms of eight 'papers' each carrying 100 marks out of which the students are examined in four at the end of the first ('Previous') year and in the remaining four at the end of the second ('Final') year. Typically, the 'Previous' and 'Final' examinations are held separately, but for purposes of determining the student's overall performance the marks secured in previous and final classes are added together and students securing 60% or more marks are awarded a first division, those obtaining between 45% to 59% receive a second division, and those securing less than 45% but more than 33% (in many case this minima has been raised to 36% in recent years) are assigned a third division. Securing a 'First Division' in political science is considered as a mark of exceptional scholastic ability and in many universities no one achieves this distinction for many years running, while it only rarely happens that a regular student fails to secure passing marks. The bulk of the political science students in India pass in the second division.

The eight paper Master's course is a common feature of long standing. Of these, six are generally designated 'compulsory' and students 'opt' for two additional papers from a selected range of alternatives. The system of optionals was designed to provide a measure of specialization and its teaching is usually restricted to the final year on the assumption that a student should tackle these only after acquiring basic knowledge. These structural details are common to all the university level disciplines and not in any way peculiar to political science. They must not, however, be lost sight of while one goes through the subsequent parts of our descriptive evaluation because they inevitably modulate all the nuances of political science teaching and research in India.

2. Syllabi Reform

An emergent sign of our discipline's vitality must be highlighted at this stage. Spurred on by its low ranking in terms of peer-esteem and social status, political science teachers in many universities have been able to secure reforms even in the standard framework of Master's level courses. The political science department of the university of Rajasthan was, for example, able to add a paper on social science research methods as an alternative to the viva-voce and the student could opt for either of them. To be sure, the Rajasthan university was not the only one to undertake this far-reaching reform in its political science syllabi; yet its revolutionary character can be judged from the fact that, it has not been possible to institutionalize this most-welcome change on a nation wide scale.

Political science courses in India have been built around four basic building blocks viz; (1) Political Thought or Political Theory; (2) Comparative constitutions, or comparative governments, or comparative politics; (3) International Relations or International Politics, and (4) Public Administration. Out of these four, the last two have not yet been fully 'integrated' into the main-stream political science and at least one (Public Administration) has tended to acquire an independent personality, while the other (International Relations) has yet to achieve (if at all) that status.

The question of assimilation apart, each of these building-blocks has several facets all of which have been undergoing incremental change during the last five decades. With the advent of "American Political Science" on the Indian scene during the fifties, even radical changes have been said to be occurring in some of these segments but, taking the country as a whole, the range of changes can only be described as slow and gradual, if not marginal.

3. Declining Preeminance of Political Thought Courses

Ever since the inception of political science studies, whether as a part of history or political science departments, papers focussed on History of Political Thought (HPT) have always enjoyed a pre-eminent prestige which has been only marginally diminished by introduction of papers devoted to Modern Political Theory (MPT). In case of the older university departments like those at the Allahabad University, HPT courses were spread over 2 or even 3 'papers'; one paper being devoted to ancient political thought, another to medieval political thought, and the third to modern or recent or contemporary political thought. However, with the passage of time, a tendency of telescoping ancient and medieval thought into one paper has emerged and such papers are still to be found in all the departments of political science in India. This paper is, even today, regarded as the 'flag ship' of the political science syllabi and teachers handling it get (and give themselves) conventionally, a place of pride in the intra-disciplinary hierarchy. Many teachers still take pride in delving deep into the intricacies of Greek political thought and confidently assert that once a student has grasped the essentials of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle there is hardly anything left for him to learn as a student of political science. Cases are not unknown when HPT teachers linger upon Plato and Aristotle throughout their classes in the Previous year, leaving the students to read other thinkers by themselves unmindful of the examinees' murmur that the prescribed syllabus requires them to familiarize themselves with post-Aristotalian political thought at least right down to Machiavelli. The intellectual prestige commanded by HPT courses in the domain of political science is something which can never be adequately described; it can only be experienced.

The premium attached to HPT courses is, nevertheless, losing its glitter. Several reasons and/or circumstances account for this scaling-down which has, however, not yet attained the level similar to other disciplines (like economics) which have successfully eliminated comparable papers from their syllabi even though a compulsory paper on History of Economic Thought was a common feature of all economics syllabi till the end of the sixties. In the first place, political scientists all over the world have realized that a purely historical (chronological) approach towards the study of political thought as embodied in such great textbooks as those of Sabine, Mcillwain and others of their tribe, is neither necessary nor desirable. Secondly, a discipline-wide consensus is emerging that 'thought' is not *theory* and howsoever profound a political thinker might be a mere recital of what he wrote or said is not enough to enable one to build-up an inventory of theories and models which might have relevance to other times and other places. Last, but not the least, the realization is dawning amongst political scientists, partially by the Marxists' advocacy of materialistic models of analyses, that over-emphasis on *political* thought unnecessarily obstructs better understanding of politics including political values and political behaviour. As a result of these intellectual assaults, HPT papers in the context of political science in India are either yielding place to other papers or are being remoulded by shedding their chronological bias and narrow conception of what constitutes political thought.

4. Modern Political Theory

A major challenge to the preeminent status of the compulsory HPT paper emerged in the wake of the large-scale introduction of American literature on political science in India since the late forties because the new thought stream was too innovative and too comprehensive to be tucked away into a small corner of the HPT papers. But, in the typical Indian assimilative tradition, room was quickly found (in some the room was made by merging the two papers devoted, respectively, to ancient and medieval thought) for one more compulsory paper generally designated as Modern Political Theory (MPT), although such variants as Advanced Political Theory, Contemporary Political Theory and Twentieth-Century Political Thought are also in vogue. The MPT paper is, generally speaking, substantially different in tone as well as contents as compared to the HPT paper and its introduction provoked, predictably, resistance ranging from ridicule of American expertise in political science to rumour-mongering about the political and economic motives of its proponents in India. One of the strategies of overcoming this resistance has been to incorporate conceptual frameworks developed in the USSR and other socialist countries, as also Marxist perspectives originating from the USA, the UK and other countries from West Europe. By and large, the MPT paper in most departments of political science has tended to become an amalgam of American (Parsons, Easton, Almond, Deutsch, Huntington and Lucian Pye et al) and European (Jean Paul Sartre, Hannah Arendt, Herbert Marcuse, D.Jouvenel et al) thought streams which require the teachers and students to be on their toes since no readymade textbooks are available in this field and this has served to enhance its prestige almost to the level attained by the HPT paper during the thirties and forties. The department of political science of the Rajasthan University was among the earliest to launch this paper. For the Marxist orientation the credit goes to the political science departments of Delhi and Jawaharlal Nehru Universities.

5. Government and Politics in India

A compulsory paper on the history of British constitutional law was a standard feature of political science syllabi when this discipline was established at the B.A. and M.A. levels in India. But, in due course of time, it was replaced by either a paper on Indian constitutional law or comparative constitutions, or comparative governments. In some cases, the paper on Indian constitutional law was conjoined with the history of India's freedom struggle and it was redesigned as a paper on nationalist movement and constitutional development in India. The syllabus of the paper was heavily biased in favour of formal descriptions of the various enactments which were regarded as milestones in India's constitutional evolution and the corresponding political movements. As such, the paper appeared to belong more to the discipline of history than political science. In fact, even today history syllabi in many universities include a paper with this nomenclature. In the context of political science, this paper is now being replaced by a paper focussing directly on "Government and Politics of India" in which the history of the evolution of India's constitutional structures occupies, generally speaking, less than one third space with some university departments trying to reduce it to still smaller proportions.

6. Comparative Government

In many universities, a separate paper on comparative constitutions or comparative governments is taught. The students are familiarized with the similarities and differences between the legal-formal structures of governance of foreign countries, usually the UK, the USA, the USSR, France, and Switzerland. At one stage, textbooks by such scholars as Herman Finer, Munro and Ogg, and Zink were used as much by students of history and law as by political science students. But the appearance of Harold Laski's penetrative analyses of the British and U.S. constitutional systems made the political scientists to abandon the purely legal-formal approach to the study of political institutions. Further, the emergence of a large number of sovereign states in Asia, and Africa in the aftermath of the Second World war made the political scientists in the country acutely conscious of the need to enlarge the scope of the paper through the inclusion of several new governments for purposes of comparative study. The second objective was achieved without great difficulty. Although different political science departments added different countries to the list for comparison, there was, on the whole, a great deal of consensus to drop the study of France and include a country from the Afro-Asian world (for example, Japan, Nigeria or Pakistan). The results were, however, not satisfactory. The real breakthrough in remoulding this paper came when some of the university departments attempted to convert this country-oriented paper into a theory oriented one and tried to shift its focus from comparison of legal-formal structures to comparison of political institutions and political processes. But the shift from comparative government perspective to the comparative politics perspective posed a great challange because the models or methods for making comparison of political institutions and political processes simply did not exist beyond the legal-formal domain. Thus, wherever an attempt was made to re-mould the pre-existing comparative governments syllabi to suit the needs of a paper on comparative politics course, one had to turn to theories and research tools and techniques being developed by U.S. scholars, triggering-off another round of polemical attacks which were, by and large, non-constructive as far as the stated objective of acquiring a better understanding of non-Western political processes was concerned. Almond and Coleman's *Politics of Developing Areas* continued to be a bible for quite some time. The arrival of some outstanding books by British scholars like S. Finer and Jean Blondel towards the end of the sixties made it possible for political scientists in India to revise the relevant syllabi.

7. Debate on compulsory and optional papers

Compulsory papers on (1) History of Ancient and Medieval Political Thought, (2) Comparative Politics, (3) Government and Politics of India, and (4) Modern Political Theory have, thus, emerged as the 'core' of the discipline of political science in India. But, as yet, there is no consensus amongst the political scientists regarding the size of the core. There are many who argue that papers on international relations and public administration should also be compulsory at the M.A. level since these two sub-branches also deserve to be regarded as the core of a well rounded grounding in political science. This view is not with counter-arguments that (either one or both of) these sub-fields have qualified to acquire independent status as separate disciplines in their own right and need not be given great emphasis in political science syllabi. As already mentioned, several universities have instituted Master's-level degree courses in public administration and the Jadavpur University has been bold enough to establish a full-fledged Department of International Relations, which conducts teaching and research in international relations even at second and third degree levels. Generally, however, most of the political science departments in India have included both international relations and public administration as compulsory papers in their syllabi raising the number of compulsory papers to six.

Thanks to the initiative taken by the UGC a 'national consensus' on the issue of number and nature of 'core' papers in political science at the Master's level has been reached. This consensus was arrived at through an unprecedented but systematic exercise. The UGC Panel on political science organized workshops in five different zones of India during October 1975 to September 1976. The deliberations of the zone-wise workshops were guided by a common working-paper written by Iqbal Narain, convener of the UGC panel. In the five workshops 142 political science teachers participated. The participants included at least 20 incumbent heads and 10 ex-heads of the political science departments. The cumulative wisdom of these people was used as the base for preparation of a Report which was discussed at a national seminar on *Revision of Political Science syllabi;* the seminar also took note of a similar exercise conducted by the Indian Political Science Association almost contemporaneously. This Report can, therefore. be readily accepted as embodying 'the national consensus' evolved on the issue of revision of the political science syllabi. The state-of-art of political science teaching embodied in the national consensus on the issue of number of 'core' papers is, indeed, revealing:

> The suggestions about the number of core papers have varied from 4 through 5 to 6 papers. The advocates of six core papers argue that, unless the number of papers is fixed at six, the students will not be exposed to what is of basic importance in the discipline. In contrast, those who favour 4 to 5 core papers take the position that specialization through optionals will have no meaning unless a student offers three to four papers from the group in which he wants to specialize. We are, therefore, listing in order of priority the following core papers about which there is consensus, leaving it to the option of the various university departments to take final decision in regard to the actual number of papers which they will like to treat as core courses.
>
> (1) Political Thought: Major Thinkers and Trends.
>
> (2) Modern Political Theory: Empirical and Normative.
>
> (3) Comparative Politics.
>
> (4) International Politics: Theory and issues.
>
> (5) Indian Government and Politics.
>
> (6) Theory and Practice of Public Administration.

It would be fair to add that the priority-order evolved by the UGC Panel sandwiches a paper on Indian Government and Politics between papers on International Politics (number 4) and Public Administration (number 6) and treats the paper on Modern Political Theory as High as number 2. But this order is not actually found at any specific university department of political science. In any case, it appears to give a higher priority to a paper on international relations than it has actually been possible to achieve because of the growing need to include a paper on Government and Politics of India.

8. International Relations

Although there have been variations in the periodisation, the paper on "History of International Relations" which focussed on the study of the changing contours of state-to-state relations between European nation-states was a natural component of history courses. When separate political science departments emerged out of the wings of history departments, history teachers still continued to occupy major positions in the new departments and the continuation of the paper in political science syllabi was simply taken for granted, except the issue of the 'period' to be taken up for study, which continued to vex the political scientists in India. The scope and contents of the paper were well-defined and excellent textbooks by authors like E.H. Carr, Gaithone Hardy, Norman D., Palmer, and A. Perkins were readily available. However, the subject matter of the course would have something to do with politics only marginally. The appearance of Hans Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations*, however, sowed seeds of doubt as it introduced a discussion about theory in this sub-field and soon publications of US scholars (like M. Kaplan) began to flood the library-shelves with such new approaches to the study of international relations that its old nomenclature (International Relations) as well as its standard method of study (analysis of material in Government Archives) began to seem inappropriate even to those political science scholars in India who were reluctant to feel enthused about the proliferation of quantitative and other sociometric approaches to the study of politics. Another cognitive factor buttressed the Indian perception of the need for syllabi-change; the course content of this paper as it had evolved under the auspices of the history departments was narrowly focussed on European nation-states and their inter-relations, while Asia, Africa and Latin America figured only at the margin. Some concessions were, no doubt, made with regard to Turkey and Japan but even major upheavels in other Afro-Asian countries were conspicuous by their absence, though minor events in Europe were covered in great details. With India beginning to play a prominent role on the global stage with its non-alignment policy, and China emerging as another important Asian power, the stage was, indeed, ripe for an overhaul or overall review of the scope and contents of this paper. The much-needed revision of the syllabi in this regard has, however, not been carried out partly on account of academics' inherent inertia but mainly because suitable models for teaching international relations in the context of political science are not easily available. The U.S. scholars' complex models and complicated research techniques are too variegated and sophisticated to be digested by Master's-level students of political science. The net result is that the old course-contents lifted from history syllabus continue to adorn political science syllabi also with some theoretical inputs here and there, the most prominent of this face-lift being a change in nomenclature from 'International Relations' to 'International Politics' which is, for all practical purposes, a case of change without difference. The political science department of the Baroda University is, however, a happy exception in this respect.

We would not like to go here into the merits of the question as to whether International Relations is or can become a separate discipline. But we would certainly like to note that for an overwhelming majority of political science teachers this issue simply fails to ring any bells and, even if dedicated International Relations scholars manage to develop it to the point of maturity when it may become difficult to deny an autonomous status to it, most political science teachers would fail to realize as to for whom the bell is tolling.

9. Public Administration

By incorporating a compulsory paper on Public Administration (in most political science departments its full title is "Theory and Practice of Public Administration"), political science in India has registered its only major break from the British tradition of teaching and research in political science. Despite the emergence of separate full-fledged public administration departments it appears to be a case of irreversible change since more and more departments of political science are adding this paper to their syllabi. As stated earlier, it opens a vast area of manageable field research which no other paper can match.

10. Utility and scope of optional papers

The optional papers included in the political science syllabi fall, generally speaking, into three groups viz. (a) those which complement the compulsory papers and promote intra-disciplinary specialization, (b) those which supplement the compulsory papers and promote inter-disciplinary orientation; and (c) those which fall in the domain of political science but bear only indistinct relationship with the compulsory papers. It should be noted that most universities permit a student to choose only the optionals; both the optional papers must, more often than not, be selected from one group of inter-related papers and, exceptions apart, the study of optional papers is restricted to the Final Year class only, the Previous being devoted, so to say, to the study of fundamentals of the discipline.

One may get quite a distorted version of the reality if one looks at the syllabi of the universities. The printed syllabus invariably runs into several pages giving detailed course-contents of a large number (5 to 7 is typical in this regard) of optional groups with each group listing anywhere from 4 to 10 papers. But, in actual practice, any teaching department is rarely able to teach more than 2 or 3 groups; even the choice of optionals in a given group is similarly restricted because of limited manpower. The situation is worse in colleges. In other words, at any given university department, at a given point of time, the choice of a Final-Year student is never so wide as the University syllabus appears to offer. This wide gap between theory and practice of syllabus-making must not be lost sight of while evaluating the political science syllabi in India. Limited human resources in terms of expertise and lack of inter-departmental co-operation usually account for this situation.

Many political science syllabi in India contain one 'optional group devoted to economics and some also contain groups focussed on sociology and law. But, in actual practice, the concerned departments find it almost impossible to impart instruction in these optionals because neither can they appoint teachers with requisite expertise in these fields nor can they look forward to co-operation from their sister departments on a formal institutionalized basis. Thus such optional groups serve no purpose except to create the illusion of inter-disciplinary orientation.

Let us turn our attention for a while towards the intra-disciplinary optionals which, typically, bear a clear academic nexus with the compulsory papers. Most university departments thus, offer a choice of optional groups focussed on 'Political Thought', 'Comparative Government and Politics', 'Local Government', 'Public Administration, 'International Relations', and 'Government and Politics in India'. Of course, some have pioneered in such sub-fields as 'Political Analysis and Research Methodology'. The department of Political Science in the 'Rajasthan University, Jaipur is a case in point. Given the premium traditionally enjoyed by HPT courses, the first choice of political science students in India inevitably falls on the political thought group which also includes elective papers on ancient Indian political thought and modern Indian social and political ideas. The group related to the compulsory paper on public administration is also acquiring a great deal of popularity. At some campuses (like the department of Chinese and Japanese studies at Delhi, centres for the study of various regions and countries at Jawaharlal Nehru University (Delhi), and South Asia Studies Centre at Rajasthan University (Jaipur), and so on) where area studies have been institutionalized, it has become possible for political science departments to offer innovative optionals relating to government and politics of various 'areas' particularly in the Third World such as South Asia, West Asia and South-East Asia. Many of the political science departments have sought to extend the scope of comparative politics inwards by attempting specialized studies of the functioning of the Indian political system under such optionals as state politics in India, party politics and pressure groups in India, Elections, Voting Behaviour and public opinion in India – papers which offer considerable scope for comparing different segments of the same political system. The departments of political science in Calcutta, Gujrat, Rajasthan and Poona universities deserve a mention in this regard.

In view of the variety of the intra-disciplinary optionals, we would like to restrict our remarks to a few optionals, which are either too popular to be ignored or of exceptional significance. These are (i) Modern Indian Political Thought, (ii) Political Analysis and Research Methodology and (iii) Politics of Developing countries.

11. Modern Indian Political Thought

The western focus of the compulsory HPT paper has already been noted. Partly by way of Indian reaction to this bias and partly owing to academic considerations *per se* – an optional paper is included in many universities which relates to the political thought of the activists and others who directly or indirectly made a contribution to India's freedom struggle, especially after the emergence of the Indian National Congress as a nation-wide political force. To begin with, there was considerable scepticism amongst political scientists regarding the viability of such a paper as even during the fifties many political science scholars doubted the existence of "political thought" amongst the ranks of India's freedom-fighters who were regarded as men of action rather than systematic thinkers in the tradition of Plato, Hegel, or Marx. Gandhi's own words were quoted to contend that there was no such thing as "Gandhian Political Thought". If Gandhi's ideas did not deserve a place in the political science syllabi, the case for teaching Modern Indian political thought could easily be taken as lost. Undaunted by such comments several political scientists like J.P. Sud and V.P. Verma went on pleading for inclusion of such a paper in the political science syllabi and, given India's legitimate pride in its own "freedom struggle", their efforts led to the inclusion of an optional paper on the subject, although the day when it would acquire the status of a compulsory paper, as some of its enthusiastic advocates want, seems to be rather distant.

A paper on modern Indian political thought can, logically, find a place in two optional groups, the group on Political Thought as well as the group on Government and Politics in India. Many university departments have, in fact, followed this practice without giving much thought to the problem as to whether the course-contents of a paper bearing this title should be identical when it is conjugated in two different contexts: a student specializing in "Political Thought" ought to look at modern Indian political thought through spectacles different from those used by some one specializing in Government and Politics in India. But the necessity of this differentiation does not seem to have been appreciated by many. One also has the feeling that conceptual development should gradually replace the thinker-wise approach. Finally, it will also be desirable if the paper offers an overview of India's political tradition from the ancient, through the medieval, to the modern periods. It may be emphasised, however, that the elective paper in its present form is one of the most popular ones in both the groups under reference.

12. Research Methodology

The device of optional papers, as mentioned earlier also, has really proved to be a boon to those seeking modernization of political science syllabi. This can be readily illustrated with reference to the examples of papers on Political Analysis and Research Methodology – one of the most painful experiences which almost all political scientists in India underwent during the sixties related to their total inability to grasp the research terminology and methods being increasingly employed by all other social scientists. This made the UGC as well as the ICSSR realize that political science would continue to lag behind until it started to teach research methodology to its students. Given the venerability of its compulsory papers there was, however, simply no place in the normal political science syllabi to undertake teaching of this paper and, therefore, the device of 'optionals' was used to provide for it. An effort was also made to link up the teaching of research techniques with analysis of basic political frameworks of enquiry and concepts with which the students were also familiarized in the compulsory paper on Modern Political Theory. It is needless to add that, given the centuries-old normative orientation of political science as well as political science teachers, the introduction of a paper devoted to teaching of methodology of empirical research could not but meet a mixed response. But the experience of Calcutta, Jawaharlal Nehru, Punjab and Rajasthan universities, where it has already emerged as almost a compulsory paper indicates that research methodology can be brought within the fold of political science syllabi. The initiative taken by the ICSSR in this regard in the form of a series of training seminars certainly yielded good dividends during the seventies, but the momentum began to slacken towards the end of the seventies. Very few political science departments came forward to organize such courses; the focus also shifted to ICSSR regional centres located at New Delhi, Chandigarh, Bombay, Hyderabad and Calcutta but the intake of political scientists at such research methodology courses is much smaller partly because the approaches and techniques required specifically for "political analysis" have received a low priority at these centres. Hence, as far as political science is concerned, research methodology training would be successful only when it is institutionalized under the auspices of university departments in the discipline.

13. Study of Non-Western Political Systems

The broadening of the scope of the compulsory paper on Comparative Politics by inclusion of non-European 'comparables' has a built-in limitation insofar as the political and constitutional systems of the UK, the USA and the USSR are still given primacy. This limitation has been overcome by the device of inclusion of several optional papers devoted to description and comparative analysis of the political and constitutional systems of countries which cannot be accommodated within the confines of the compulsory paper on comparative politics which, in any case, ought to be confined to teaching the fundamental characteristics of different political institutions and processes. Hence several university departments have sought to incorporate optional papers in their syllabi which are focussed on this or that assortment of the political systems of non-European or developing countries. But, as yet, not sufficient thought has been given to the issue of evolving a stable criterion for making selection of the countries to be taken up for study under the auspices of these optional papers. The issue of non-availability of academic criteria of selection is complicated by the non-availability of materials regarding most countries of the Third world (as compared to the ease with which one can collect requisite information about developed countries) including India's next-door neighbours such as Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The result is that even dedicated political science teachers find it very difficult (some even go to the extent of calling it undesirable) to attract students towards these papers. There is also paucity of teaching material.

14. Undergraduate Teaching

Having dilated at length on Master's-level teaching, it may not be inappropriate to mention that, all these remarks are also relevant in some measure in the context of undergraduate teaching. The major difference is that at the bachelor's level a student has usually (except in the case of Honours Courses in some universities) to divide his attention among three disciplines and a teacher is under great pressure to conform to the routine of "finishing the course" in a literal sense by delivering lectures on each and every topic mentioned in the syllabus. Bachelor's level teaching in India is, therefore, very much stereotyped and straight jacketed, leaving no time for either the teachers or the students to dwell upon the intricacies and nuances of the theme (s) taken up for study. One is also struck by the overlap and repetition of courses and syllabi at the B.A. (Pass), Honours and M.A. levels which, as such, do not, provide opportunities of development to students from one stage to another. There is, of course, no scope for innovative experimentation.

15. M. Phil Courses

The academic inertia of the Indian educational system can, in fact, be better grasped from the near-zero impact of the introduction of M.Phil. courses as far as teaching and research in political science is concerned. With the exception of a handful of universities like the University of Madras, which had instituted M. Litt. courses even before 1947, the introduction of a new post-graduate degree in the form of M.Phil. (which was, in fact, a post-master's degree) was a major structural innovation in the Indian university system. But the brief experience of less than a decade has, in the domain of political science at any rate, shown that it is very difficult to raise the teaching standards even though one may raise the standard of the degree for which teaching is being imparted. Concern with the falling standards of Master's level teaching and the limited room for flexibility and experimentation in terms of syllabi revision at this stage were, in fact, the main reasons which impelled many leading political scientists in India to start M.Phil. teaching.

At several university departments one can, in fact, hear the complaint that M.Phil. is already in shambles and its syllabus and teaching standards are in no way superior to M.A., where the teachers have at least become accustomed to maintain a minimum standard of excellence.

But in almost no case the original assumption has been fully realized. It was considered that since M.Phil. was not only an entirely new degree but also a degree higher than the Master's degree (which had begun to attract an unmanageable number of students), it would be possible to maintain high standards of teaching. However, this hope has been belied with a few significant exceptions.

It would not be out of place to mention that one of the most successful M.Phil. programmes in the country is located at the Jawaharlal Nehru University which began with M.Phil. teaching and where the concerned 'centres', corresponding to departments in normal academic usage, enjoy a great deal of flexibility in matters relating to determination of syllabi and pattern of evaluation.

16. Teaching Methods

As far as teaching methods are concerned, the most popular method is still the lecture method, which is sometimes supplemented by seminars and tutorials. Evaluation is usually a mix of internal and external evaluation. What has been said here about teaching and evaluation is true both of undergraduate and graduate levels.

IV. PATTERN OF RESEARCH

Research in the university context normally takes two forms: degree-research and project-research. While in the specific context of political science considerable progress has been registered in the first case, the second type of research has been confined only to few university departments focussing only on a small number of topics for which funding has been provided by the ICSSR, the UGC, and other similar 'all-India' agencies.

1. Project-Research and Degree-Research Pattern of Divergence in Political Science

The difference between degree-research and project-research is not, essentially, a matter of kind but, in actual practice, the two have tended to diverge to the extent of becoming parallel to each other. This "dual-track" nature of research is most visible in the case of political science because most research-projects in its domain require funds, manpower and other resources on a scale which are not likely to be available to a student who is doing research for the sake of earning a research degree. In the case of some disciplines like economics conventions regarding utilization of data collected under the auspices of project-research (which, typically, involves the collaboration of a large team of researchers) for individual degree-research are developing but in the case of political science this practice does not obtain. In the case of other allied disciplines like sociology and social anthropology the tradition of primary data-collection has been institutionalized at the Master's level (in some cases even the Bachelor's degree students are required to carry out field research as a part of the syllabi) and teachers belonging to these disciplines thus find the transition to project-research rather simple and smooth. Political science teachers have, over several decades, been preoccupied with re-telling of histories of political thought or taxonomies of political structures and the idea of teachers going in for collection of primary data through the medium of large-scale project-research is even now incomprehensible to most political science teachers. In fact, given the predominance of historical, structural, legal, formal, and archival approaches to the study of politics, it makes little sense to carry out field-research because even if some data are so collected, there is no theory or hypotheses with which it can be related. Besides the lack of testable theories political scientists are handicapped, as far as project-research is concerned, by the lack of training in research methodology which has been an essential ingredient of the syllabi in social science disciplines like sociology and anthropology for a fairly long time. Hence most political science teachers seem to be content with degree-research and only a few dare to compete with other social science colleagues for research funds and other facilities required for project-research.

2. Degree-Research

The long academic history of social science teaching in India notwithstanding, the degree-research tradition has acquired a firm footing only recently. According to information compiled by Yogesh Atal in 1974, during the forty years since 1911, only 148 theses were submitted in all the Indian universities in the sphere of social sciences, whereas, in the subsequent two decades (1951-1970) as many as 2,576 Ph.D. theses were submitted including 526 in political science and international relations. Thus, in terms of numbers alone, political science seems to have done well (the total number of Ph.Ds. awarded during 1911-71 in this discipline

(810) being second only to economics (1376) and constituting nearly 26% of the total of 3044). The detailed comparative profile of different social sciences is as follows:

Ph.Ds. Awarded by Indian Universities in Social Sciences (1911-71)

Subject Cluster	*1911-20*	*1921-30*	*1931-40*	*1941-50*	*1951-60*	*1961-70*	*1971*	*Total*
I. Economics, Commerce & Demography	2	4	15	69	323	836	127	1376
II. Political Science, International Relations, and Public Administration	1	–	1	9	102	414	83	810
III. Sociology, Social Anthropology, Social Work and Criminology	–	–	4	34	79	323	43	483
IV. Psychology	–	–	–	3	51	262	32	348
V. Human Geography	–	–	–	4	27	125	30	186
VI. Management	–	–	–	2	2	32	5	41
Total	3	4	20	121	584	1992	320	3044

Source: Yogesh Atal, "India" in Yogesh Atal (Ed) *Social Sciences in Asia;* New Delhi : Abhinav Publications, 1974 : 121.

3. Limitations of Ph.D. Research

The foregoing macro-situation may be regarded as satisfactory in comparative terms only inasmuch as the UGC Panel on Political Science has discovered (during 1978-79) that the number of theses awarded Ph.D. degree was startlingly low at many political science departments, yielding an average of less than 2 theses per year for most political science departments. To some extent, this low award-rate, particularly by teaching departments, reflects the natural desire of political scientists to maintain the value of their degree. It has also been noted that Ph.D. research itself is devalued in the sense that students acquiring Master's degree do not look forward to undertaking Ph.D. research. The better ones opt for jobs with good prospects and do not bother to undertake Ph.D. research which is becoming a preserve of those who opt for a teaching career. Further, guiding a Ph.D. student's research is a work of great responsibility which can only be discharged by supervisers who have ample time and energy at their disposal. However, in most Indian universities the work on this account is never taken into consideration while determining a teacher's overall work-load. Again, except for professors and some senior readers, the bulk of political science teachers do not usually have even a make-shift cubicle in which they can hold requisite discussions with the students registered with them with the result that research scholars have no choice but to develop informal channels of contact with their supervisors. The teachers and students never feel the presence of these researchers even though some of them might be getting research scholarships and research fellowships. Degree-research, thus, becomes a matter of personal relationship between a research scholar and his/her supervisor and the department as a separate entity gets almost no social pay-offs from this mode of research. The social utility of degree-research is further eroded in the case of political science since more than half of the theses are never published. In a sense, the problem is not peculiar to political science alone but it is our impression that, given preference for 'applied' knowledge, other social sciences are better-off than political science on this score.

Commensurate with the manpower and material resources at the disposal of individuals embarking upon degree-research (a majority of those doing so are fresh Master's-degree holders and, increasingly, the girls outnumber the boys, while another big chunk consists of in-service teachers who can spare time for research only during the summer vacations when most of them also have to take care of their usually remunerative duty of evaluating a large number of examination answer scripts), the methodology adopted remains an eclectic selection of whatever is possible with a great premium being attached to desk-work in well stocked libraries and archives. Although some supervisors have become fully conscious of the need of training their research scholars in sophisticated research techniques, yet most Ph.D. theses in the domain of political science in India still fall in the time-hallowed tradition of "writing books out of other books" with degree-researchers being, understandably, reluctant to take up the onerous task of collection of primary data using such standard survey research methods as questionnaires, interviews, observation, or content analysis.

4. Project-Research : Problems and Priorities

Degree-research is weak and routinized in the domain of political science. The tradition of project-research, which is a fairly recent innovation even in the context of social sciences as a whole, has hardly developed in the field of political science in India, except in a few campuses like Calcutta, Osmania, Poona and Rajasthan where some political science teachers have been able to institutionalize this type of research. Given the "teaching-first" attitude of a large majority of political science teachers, the institutionalization of project-research has nowhere been firm, let alone comprehensive and broad-based. Most departments simply do not have the space to house the investigatory and supervisory staff and their work-tools. Very few teachers are interested in undertaking this type of work since, as a matter of policy, the principal investigator does not get any extra remuneration or honorarium. Teachers other than the head of the department find the administrative and financial procedures for sanction, release, and audit of the project funds quite irksome. Their busy teaching schedule would not permit most teachers to take up research projects except during the summer vacations which is also the time when they are anxious to earn extra income with the help of evaluation of examination answer books.

Important as these infrastructural, procedural and attitudinal handicaps are, project-research in the field of political science cannot really take-off because most funding agencies insist on the investigators adopting, as far as possible, the standard techniques of survey research. Thanks to the initiative of the ICSSR and the UGC the newer generation of teachers and students is acquiring some familiarity with research methodology. But most of the older political science teachers find the modern quantitative research methods rather distasteful and look askance at the empiricist presumption that political behaviour can be "understood" by getting a large number of questionnaires or schedules filled up by carefully chosen sample of respondents.

5. Voting Behaviour Studies

Project-research is, however, tending to make its dent in political science in the Indian context. Political science teachers have been able to execute series of research projects in the sub-field of 'voting behaviour', skillfully adapting the whole paraphernalia of survey research techniques required for a study of a large number of electors scattered over several constituencies all over India. Project-Research in this sub-field began with the 1962 General Elections; by 1967, several political science departments were able to handle elaborately designed research-projects focussing on voting behaviour. The expertise thus gained has stood in good stead, although even after two decades of such 'Election Studies' the feeling persists, inside as well as outside political science circles, that the methodology used cannot yield meaningful generalizations about the patterns and parameters of the political behaviour of 'the Indian voter' whose choice calculus seems to elude the probe of the political scientists in the country. Consequently, after investing huge funds in such studies during the sixties and the seventies agencies like the ICSSR and the UGC seem to have started having second thoughts about the advisability of funding 'Voting Behaviour' studies. The massive swings in public opinion during 1977 and 1980 Lok Sabha elections caught even the most experienced 'voting behaviour' researchers by surprise. One can be reasonably sure that the various funding agencies would not fail to take these factors into account while drawing up their priority schedules with respect to funding research in this area of political science during the eighties and beyond.

6. Contribution of Political Sociologists

Political scientists' growing interest in election studies provided a fertile meeting place for scholars belonging to several social science disciplines. In fact, 'voting behaviour' research made political scientists in India feel, almost for the first time, the necessity of inter-disciplinarity since scholars belonging to other disciplines, notably sociology and psychology had already evolved a well-stocked repertoire of methods and tools to probe into voting behaviour; the necessity of adopting random sampling as a basic sampling technique brought them into closer contact with statistics scholars, while they soon came to realize that students of geography were also keenly interested in psephology. Thus, whatever may have been the loss of "face" involved in the political scientists' failure to predict accurately the outcome of 1971, 1977 and 1980 polls, the discipline of political science was substantially transformed by the inputs and influences it received from allied social science disciplines. The most wide-ranging influences in this regard emanated from sociologists who were interested in understanding the sociology of politics in India and focussed upon elections as a most appropriate arena for conducting their field work. Many sociologists in the West had, in fact, made their reputation in such studies and this placed their Indian counterparts in a specially advantageous position to launch upon similar researches in India; even their political science colleagues had to turn to these models for guidance and thus brought about a great deal of interdisciplinary interfusion between scholars belonging to these two disciplines. The socio-political matrix of Indian voters' choice-calculus further made such collaboration imperative. Notwithstanding large number of such studies we are quite far away from developing a reliable and accurate "political sociology" of Indian voting behaviour. It would, nevertheless, be appropriate to note the contribution of such political sociologists as Yogesh Atal (1971) who pioneered a sophisticated research design enabling us to view the local specificities of elections in the wider national setting and paved the way for adoption of "Panel Survey" as a tool for "repeat" interviews, thus enhancing the reliability of the responses provided by the electors most of whom are illiterate people living in isolated villages. The contributions of Andre Beteille, Ashis Nandy (a social psychologist), Damle, and Imtiaz Ahmed etc. also deserve mention particularly in the context of studies pertaining to sociology of politics in India.

7. Other Major Research Interests

Public administration in India in general, and local government in India in particular, have also featured prominently on the agenda of project-research in political science mainly because funding in this case is, generally speaking, not strictly contingent upon adoption of Survey Research techniques. Project-research in this area however requires some working knowledge of sampling techniques as well as systematic methods of data collection and data analysis. Research in the structure and performance of *Panchayati Raj* as well as municipal government has not been beyond the political science teachers' skills and aptitudes and the largest number of applications for project-research invariably fall in this category. As the funds required for research projects are mostly in the five-digit range, the funding agencies also take the easy way out by approving the better designed ones among these projects. If they were to insist on rigorous standards their quota for political science would, more or less, remain unspent.

8. Poor off-take of Funds

So poor has been the off-take of research funds by the political science departments that, for several years running, almost the entire funds have been channelized either to multi-disciplinary research institutes outside the main-stream of political science or the Delhi-based CSDS which, although it has established its academic reputation as a centre of excellence as far as political science is concerned, is outside the University system.

9. Emerging Trends in Political Science Research

The broad field of political science research in India was subjected to an intensive self scrutiny by nearly 35 scholars under the auspices of the ICSSR which carried out a survey of research work done in various sub-fields of political science during 1969-70. The survey took the form of trend reports prepared by specialists but, unfortunately, only three volumes of these reports have been published so far, while others are expected to be released shortly in two remaining volumes. On the basis of our access to the cyclostyled reports we can make the following observations:

(1) the tradition of researching the "great issues" of western political theory is dying out since it is becoming increasingly difficult to keep track of developments abroad;

(2) there has been a noticeable swing in favour of researching topics and themes in all the sub-branches of Government and politics in India with a great deal of concentration around local government in India, modern Indian political thought, State Politics in India, political parties and elections;

(3) there has been a perceptible decline in research interest insofar as International Politics is concerned but a large number of theses continue to be focussed on history of bi-lateral diplomatic relations.

V. STATUS AND IMPACT

A Master's degree in political science is, then, one of the commonest possessions of educated Indians but the social relevance of political science stops at this quantitative frontier. Political scientists in India are neither organised as a class of professionals nor do they play any prominent role in national policy-debates as experts in political analysis. Most Indian political scientists, in other words, function as class-room transmitters of knowledge accumulated mainly in the West and are yet to make an impact even on the research agenda of social sciences, let alone being in a position to furnish 'applied' consultancy on the crucial political problems encountered in the nation-building processes in India.

1. Non-representation in Policy making organs

If there is any country in the world, particularly specific world of the "New States", which needs political science *qua* political science, it is India. But ever since K.V.R.Rao in his competent study of the composition and performance of the Constituent Assembly of India regretted the absence of political scientists (there were Law-degree holders galore in this august body), political scientists have been acutely aware of the marginality of their existence as far as the practical problem solving organs of the country are concerned, whether they be such high-powered commissions as the States Reorganization Commission (1954) or policy-formulation agencies as the Planning Commission. It is not as if such commissions, committees, and study teams are appointed to look into purely technical matters; most, if not all, of their time is taken up with analysis and resolution of political issues. But somehow or the other, the subject-matter specialists who should be regarded as repositories of expertise on the theory and practice of politics are almost never associated with such bodies even where other social scientists, notably economists, sociologists, psychologists, and even statisticians regularly find a berth. It is true that some political scientists have found places on Union and State Public Service Commissions, and some have already been associated with various executive and advisory organs of State governments. However, there is as yet no recognition of the corporate discipline of political science, either at the Centre or in the States and Union Territories, as capable of illuminating even such political ills as communalism, casteism, regionalism, linguism and nepotism.

With political scientists being almost automatically excluded from the cognitive catchment area of political analysis, the question simply does not arise of political scientists' association with policy-organs devoted to diagnosis and treatment of techno-economic issues like plan-priorities, grant-allocation (including licensing procedures), and other economic policies concerning production, distribution and re-distribution of material resources of society. All these questions have political facets and, *prima facie,* require sophisticated political analysis but it is rare to find political scientists being associated with the process of decision making in these respects even though India's commitment to the political ideology of democratic socialism (which invariably enhances the need for in-depth analysis of the political processes of the government) is a matter of consensus amongst virtually all shades of public opinion. Self-introspection on the part of political scientists may reveal that lack of problem-solving and policy-science orientation in their researches accounts partly for this situation.

2. Employment Patterns of Political Science Degree-Holders

The low social valuation of political sciences in India is also reflected in the extreme narrowness of the channels through which the political science degree-holders can expect to pass in their quest for meaningful adult life. Bulk of the political science students can expect to compete with hundreds of thousands of similarly qualified Arts or Social Science degree-holders for clerical posts which do not require any specialised knowledge of political science. A very small minority of political science students does manage to enter the ranks of highly coveted All-India, Central and State administrative cadres on account of their political science background. However, for an overwhelming majority of political science students, the fact that papers relating to their discipline enjoy a substantial weight in the recruitment examination for the services serves only as an abstract solace because the entire process of selection is very arduous and knowledge of some aspects of political science is enough only to cross a few of the numerous hurdles in what is one of the most difficult 'obstacles race' in the modern world.

The pangs of 'educated unemployment' are, of course, somewhat muted in the context of political science in India on account of the fact that this is fast becoming a girls' preserve and most of them do not enter the job-market which, in any case, offers very little openings for political science degree holders.

3. Teaching Career

With the course-content of political science virtually ruling out its degree-holders from managerial, executive and administrative cadres in the private sector, the political science students can only knock the doors of India's large educational system which annually needs a substantial intake of teachers at primary, secondary, as well as tertiary levels. It is, therefore, not uncommon to find holders of Master's degree in political science crowding B.Ed. and M.Ed. courses — an essential qualification for teachers in primary and secondary schools. They are generally recruited to teach civics and social studies to school children.

To sum up, students graduating in political science cannot expect to enter any pre-designated channel either in India's growing public sector or its organized or unorganized private sectors. The best can, of course, look forward to clearing the competitive examinations conducted by the Union and State Public Service Commissions. An overwhelming majority of political science students cannot hope to treat their degrees as a passport to success in terms of employment, income and wealth.

4. Neglect of "Extension" Role

Political scientists in India are thus, in practice, expected mainly to teach in colleges and university departments. Very few political scientists succeed in their effort to grow out of their teaching roles and to take an active part in research and extension activities. The political science teachers have almost neglected extension, while attending to research in a routinized fashion. Thus despite their realization that their discipline almost precludes them from the on-going "economic revolution" in the country, political scientists in India have yet to make a firm resolve to make their presence felt by contributing to the "academic revolution"* in the sense of inducing cumulative increments in the stock-size as well as flow-rate of analytical knowledge in the field of political science.

5. Professional Associations and Journals

The Indian Political Science Association (the national organization of Political Scientists in India) could act as a catalytic agent in this regard, particularly through its quarterly organ – the *Indian Journal of Political Science.* But, this has not happened. In fact, journals brought out by individual university departments have already eclipsed the official organ, the more prominent in this regard, in our opinion, being (1) *Political Science Review* of the University of Rajasthan, (2) *Indian Political Science Review* of the University of Delhi and (3) the *Indian Journal of Politics* of the Aligarh Muslim University, besides *International Studies* and *Indian Journal of Public Administration,* which have stable institutional foundations outside the University system.

6. Institutional Support

As sources of patronage and sustenance of the discipline of political science much has been done by the UGC and the ICSSR. Both of them have tried to assess the state of political science research and teaching from time to time and have made available a variety of monetary and other inputs for its development and growth. In accordance with their respective charters, the UGC has concentrated on teaching, while the ICSSR has focussed on research. Despite all the goodwill on the part of the top functionaries in both these bodies, the pace of qualitative development has been sluggish in political science as compared to economics, sociology, and psychology. Currently, both these bodies are, once again, in the midst of fact-finding-cum-policy making exercises; the UGC is considering a report of its Political Science Panel outlining strategies for change and growth during the eighties, while the ICSSR has just launched a "second round" of its Survey of Research in Political Science with V.R. Mehta of the Rajasthan University as its co-ordinator.

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* For making us aware of this sharp distinction between "economic" and "academic" revolutions, we are grateful to S. Lokanathan of the Physics Department of the University of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

VI. AGENDA FOR ACTION

India is one of the handful of countries in the Third World enjoying the essentially democratic luxury of teaching and research in political science – a discipline dealing with a subject matter (politics) which has many natural enemies. Moreover, despite its weak record on the research front, the discipline has certainly found stable moorings in the realm of teaching in the Indian academic system, overcoming the pitfalls inherent in its transformation from a "British" to "American" orientation and transcending the ideological polemics of Liberal versus Marxist conceptions of politics, political thought and political behaviour. Political scientists in India may not be playing a critical role in the creation of new knowledge but its political science teachers are doing a yeoman's job in keeping alive the tradition of political discourse amongst an educated minority.

The first priority on any action-agenda for India during the eighties and beyond should go to the preservation of this heritage of keeping coming generations of students informed about all the shades of possible political ideologies. The second priority should be given to making available a greater resource-base for research in the specificities of politics as it manifests itself in India, a giant-size polity with king-sized problems of political conflicts and crises which other scientists (including other social scientists) may not be particularly qualified or inclined to either "understand" or "change". The third priority should go to developing extension networks in the domain of political science so that the common man may come to have better political education, if not a better appreciation of the tools and techniques in the analytical reportoire of political science.

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APPENDIX – I

LIST OF POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES FROM WHICH QUESTIONNAIRES DULY COMPLETED FOR THE REPORT ON "STATUS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN INDIA" HAVE BEEN RECEIVED

Sl. No.	*Names of the Universities*	*Name of the Department*	*Year of Establishment*	*Remarks*
1.	Agra University, (Agra)	Department of Political Science, R.B.S. College	1947	Affiliated to Agra University.
2.	Annamalai University, (Annamalai Nagar, Tamil Nadu)	Department of Political Science	1981	–
3.	A.P.S. University (Rewa, M.P.)	–	–	No teaching department of Political Science exists in the University and undergraduate and post-graduate teaching is done in constituent and affiliated colleges.
4.	Bangalore University, (Bangalore)	Department of Political Science	1973	–
5.	Berhampur University, (Berhampur, Orissa)	Department of Political Science	1969	–
6.	Bhagalpur University, (Bhagalpur, Bihar)	Department of Political Science	1961	–
7.	Bihar University, (Muzaffarpur, Bihar)	Department of Political Science	1957	–
8.	Dibrugarh University, (Dibrugarh, Assam)	Department of Political Science	1967	–
9.	Guru Nanak Dev University, (Amritsar)	Department of Political Science	1972	–
10.	Himachal Pradesh University, (Simla)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	(1966* (1970**	* with Panjab University, ** with Himachal Pradesh University.
11.	Gujarat University, (Ahmedabad)	Department of Political Science, University School of Social Sciences	1954	–
12.	Jiwaji University, (Gwalior, M.P.)	–	–	Dean, College Development Council, Jiwaji University informs that Jiwaji University has no School of Studies in Political Science and teaching of Political Science at B.A. and M.A. level is done in colleges affiliated to University of Saugar, (Sagar, M.P.)

APPENDIX – I *(continued)*

Sl. No.	*Names of the Universities*	*Name of the Department*	*Year of Establishment*	*Remarks*
13.	Karnatak University, (Dharwad)	Department of Political Science	1956	–
14.	Kurukshetra University, (Kurukshetra)	Department of Political Science	1961	–
15.	Madurai Kamaraj University, (Madurai)	Department of Political Science	1976	–
16.	Magadh University, (Bodhgaya)	Department of Political Science	1962	–
17.	Maharaja Sayajirao University, (Baroda)	Department of Political Science	1955	–
18.	Marathwada University, (Aurangabad)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	1962-63	–
19.	Nagarjuna University, (Nagarjunanagar)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	1980	–
20.	Nagpur University, (Nagpur)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	1946* 1949**	* Department of Political Science ** Department of Public Administration
21.	North-Eastern Hill University, (Shillong)	Department of Political Science	1974	–
22.	Panjab University, (Chandigarh)	Department of Political Science	(1934* (1948** (1960***	* At Lahore. ** Shifted to Hoshiarpur. *** Since 1960 functioning at Chandigarh.
23.	Rohatak University, (Rohatak)	Department of Political Science	1966	–
24.	Sambalpur University, (Sambalpur, Orissa)	Postgraduate Department of Political Science and Public Administration	1968	–
25.	Sardar Patel University, (Vallabh Vidyanagar, Gujarat)	Department of Political Science	1958	–
26.	Saurashtra University, (Rajkot)	–	1973*	* Professor In-charge, Department of Political Science, D.K.V. Arts & Science College, Jamnagar, informs that as the Saurashtra University has not instituted its own Political Science Department, postgraduate teaching is done through Shri D.K.V. Arts and Science College, Jamnagar – an affiliated College to that University.
27.	Sri Venkateswara University, (Tirupati)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	1970	–
28.	University of Allahabad, (Allahabad)	Department of Political Science	1930	–

APPENDIX – I *(continued)*

Sl. No.	*Names of the Universities*	*Name of the Department*	*Year of Establishment*	*Remarks*
29.	University of Bombay, (Bombay)	Department of Civics & Politics	1948	–
30.	University of Calcutta, (Calcutta)	Department of Political Science	1948	–
31.	University of Garhwal, (Srinagar, Garhwal, U.P.)	Department of Political Science	1977	–
32.	University of Gorakhpur, (Gorakhpur)	Department of Political Science	1958	–
33.	University of Jabalpur, (Jabalpur)	Department of Postgraduate Studies and Research in Political Science	1960	–
34.	University of Jammu, (Jammu)	Postgraduate Department of Political Science	(1963* (1966** (1969***	* In the erstwhile University. ** In the Jammu Division of the Univ. of Jammu & Kashmir. *** Since 1969 Jammu University.
35.	University of Kalyani, (Kalyani, W.B.)	Department of Political Science	1978	–
36.	University of Kerala, (Kariavottam)	Department of Politics	1957	–
37.	University of Kashmir, (Srinagar)	Department of Political Science	1963	–
38.	University of North Bengal, (P.O. North Bengal, Distt. Darjeeling)	Department of Political Science	1962	–
39.	University of Poona, (Pune)	Department of Politics and Public Administration	1950	–
40.	University of Ranchi, (Ranchi)	Department of Political Science	1954	–
41.	University of Saugar, (Sagar, M.P.)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	1946	–
42.	University of Udaipur, (Udaipur)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	1949-50	–
43.	Visva Bharati, (Shantiniketan)	Department of Economics and Politics	1953	–

APPENDIX – II

COURSES GIVEN BY THE POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS IN THE VARIOUS UNIVERSITIES

Sl. No.	*Name of the University*	*Name of the Department*	*Courses Given*					
			B.A.	*B.A.(Hon.)*	*M.A.*	*M.Phil.*	*Ph.D.*	*Others*
1.	Agra University (Agra)	Department of Political Science R.B.S. College	Yes	–	Yes	–	–	–
2.	Annamalai University (Annamalai Nagar, Tamil Nadu)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	–	–	–
3.	A.P.S. University (Rewa, M.P.)	–	Yes*	–	Yes*	–	–	–
4.	Bangalore University, (Bangalore)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	Yes	Yes	–
5.	Berhampur University, (Berhampur, Orissa)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	Yes	–	–
6.	Bhagalpur University, (Bhagalpur, Bihar)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	–	–	–
7.	Bihar University, (Muzaffarpur, Bihar)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	–	–	–
8.	Dibrugarh University, (Dibrugarh, Assam)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	–	–	–
9.	Guru Nanak Dev University (Amritsar)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	Yes	Yes	–
10.	Himachal Pradesh University, (Simla)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	–	–	Yes	Yes	–	–
11.	Gujarat University, (Ahmedabad)	Department of Political Science, University School of Social Sciences	–	–	Yes	Yes	Yes	–
12.	Jiwaji University, (Gwalior, M.P.)	–	Yes*	–	Yes*	–	–	–
13.	Karnatak University, (Dharwad)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	–	Yes	–
14.	Kurukshetra University, (Kurukshetra)	Department of Political Science	–	–*	Yes	Yes	–	–
15.	Madurai Kamaraj University, (Madurai)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	Yes	–	i) Diploma in Political Science and Public Administration ii) Diploma in Management.

APPENDIX – II *(continued)*

Sl. No.	*Name of the University*	*Name of the Department*	*Courses Given*					
			B.A.	*B.A.(Hon.)*	*M.A.*	*M.Phil.*	*Ph.D.*	*Others*
16.	Magadh University, (Bodhgaya)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	–	–	–
17.	Maharaja Sayajirao University, (Baroda)	Department of Political Science	Yes	–	Yes	–	Yes	–
18.	Marathwada University, (Aurangabad)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	–	–	Yes	–	–	–
19.	Nagarjuna University, (Nagarjuna Nagar)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	–	–	Yes	Yes	–	–
20.	Nagpur University, (Nagpur)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	–	–	Yes	–	–	Diploma in local self government
21.	North-Eastern Hill University, (Shillong)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	Yes	–	–
22.	Panjab University, (Chandigarh)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	Yes	Yes	–
23.	Rohatak University, (Rohatak)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	Yes	Yes	–
24.	Sambalpur University, (Sambalpur, Orissa)	Postgraduate Department of Political Science & Public Administration	–	–	Yes	Yes	–	–
25.	Sardar Patel University, (Vallabh Vidyanagar, Gujarat)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	–	–	–
26.	Saurashtra University, (Rajkot)	–	–	–	Yes*	–	–	–
27.	Sri Venkateswara University (Tirupati)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	–	–	Yes	–	–	–
28.	University of Allahabad, (Allahabad)	Department of Political Science	Yes	–	Yes	–	Yes	i) D. Litt. ii) Local Self Govt. Diploma (1 Year) iii) Social Service and Village uplift Cert. course (1 Year)
29.	University of Bombay, (Bombay)	Department of Civics & Politics	–	–	Yes	–	Yes	–

APPENDIX – II *(continued)*

Sl. No.	*Name of the University*	*Name of the Department*	*Courses Given*					
			B.A.	*B.A.(Hon.)*	*M.A.*	*M.Phil.*	*Ph.D.*	*Others*
30.	University of Calcutta, (Calcutta)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	–	–	–
31.	University of Garhwal, (Srinagar, Garhwal, U.P.)	Department of Political Science	Yes	–	Yes	–	–	–
32.	University of Gorakhpur, (Gorakhpur)	Department of Political Science	Yes	–	Yes	–	Yes	Diploma in public Admin. (1 Yr.)
33.	University of Jabalpur, (Jabalpur)	Department of Postgraduate Studies and Research in Political Science	–	–	Yes	–	–	–
34.	University of Jammu, (Jammu)	Postgraduate Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	–	–	–
35.	University of Kalyani, (Kalyani, W.B.)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	–	–	–
36.	University of Kerala (Kariavottam)	Department of Politics	–	–	Yes	Yes	Yes	–
37.	University of Kashmir, (Srinagar)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	–	–	–
38.	University of North Bengal, (P.O. North Bengal, Distt. Darjeeling)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	–	–	–
39.	University of Poona, (Pune)	Department of Politics and Public Administration	–	–	Yes	Yes	Yes	i) Diploma in Public Administration (1 Yr.)
40.	University of Ranchi, (Ranchi)	Department of Political Science	–	–	Yes	Yes	–	i) P.G. Diploma in Public enterprises ii) P.G. Diploma in Indian Studies.

APPENDIX – II *(continued)*

Sl. No.	*Name of the University*	*Name of the Department*	*Courses Given*					
			B.A.	*B.A.(Hon.)*	*M.A.*	*M.Phil.*	*Ph.D.*	*Others*
41.	University of Saugar, (Sagar, M.P.)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	Yes	–	Yes	–	–	i) M.P.A. in Public Admin.
42.	University of Udaipur, (Udaipur)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	Yes	–	Yes	–	–	–
43.	Visva Bharati, (Santiniketan)	Department of Economics & Politics	–	Yes	–	–	–	–

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* No teaching department of Political Science exists in the University but undergraduate and Postgraduate teaching is done in affiliated colleges.

* B.A. (Hon.) transferred to University College, Kurukshetra University, because the Department has since 1972 become an exclusively Postgraduate Department and Research Centre.

* No Teaching Department of Political Science exists in the University, but Postgraduate teaching is done in affiliated college (D.K.V. Arts and Science College, Jamnagar).

APPENDIX – III

STRENGTH OF STUDENTS DURING LAST FIVE YEARS
Yearwise Strength

Sl. No. of University/ Department as per earlier appendices	*Number of students*									
	1976-77		*1977-78*		*1978-79*		*1979-80*		*1980-81*	
	U.G.	*P.G.*	*U.G.*	*P.S.*	*U.G.*	*P.G.*	*U.G.*	*P.G.*	*U.G.*	*P.G.*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*
1. Total	226	41	240	38	234	50	235	49	229	47
2. Total	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	53	–	47
3. Total	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10000	500
4. Total	2900	88	3100	92	3200	94	3700	98	4200	98
5. Total	–	61	–	61	–	61	–	62	–	62
6. Total	–	135	–	140	–	142	–	156	–	179
7. Total	–	109	–	110	–	111	–	113	–	139
8. Total	–	67	–	72	–	88	–	92	–	111
9. Total	–	–	–	53	–	76	–	84	–	64
10. Total	–	37	–	44	–	41	–	38	–	47
11. Total	–	21	–	26	–	23	–	22	–	23
12. Total	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
13. Total	–	143	–	118	–	137	–	154	–	157
14. Total	–	55	–	125	–	107	–	100	–	117
15. Total	–	–	–	12	–	17	–	31	–	27
16. Total	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17. Total	356	13	404	15	289	16	154	16	128	14
18. Total	–	196	–	140	–	128	–	65	–	49
19. Total	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	34
20. Total	–	209	–	201	–	178	–	147	–	149

APPENDIX – III *(continued)*

Sl. No. of University/ Department as per earlier appendices	*Number of students*									
	1976-77		*1977-78*		*1978-79*		*1979-80*		*1980-81*	
	U.G.	*P.G.*	*U.G.*	*P.S.*	*U.G.*	*P.G.*	*U.G.*	*P.G.*	*U.G.*	*P.G.*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*
21. Total	–	30	–	35	–	35	–	40	–	45
22. Total	119	–	121	–	102	–	85	–	95	–
23. Total	–	118	–	116	–	118	–	87	–	82
24. Total	–	48	–	51	–	64	–	65	–	66
25. Total	–	4	–	10	–	10	–	12	–	13
26. Total	40	22	46	11	42	15	41	9	35	10
27. Total	–	36	–	59	–	39	–	40	–	60
28. Total	425	90	430	100	442	190	439	190	440	190
29. Total	–	203	–	211	–	205	–	191	–	169
30. Total	–	75	–	65	–	65	–	52	–	60
31. Total	85	8	100	12	95	12	96	12	100	20
32. Total	512	123	576	156	575	188	555	143	645	156
33. Total	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
34. Total	–	85	–	83	–	88	–	101	–	106
35. Total	–	–	–	–	–	22	–	29	–	26
36. Total	–	25	–	25	–	25	–	25	–	25
37. Total	–	18	–	30	–	46	–	50	–	50
38. Total	–	37	–	57	–	82	–	86	–	93
39. Total	–	70	–	70	–	70	–	75	–	80
40. Total	–	106	–	106	–	106	–	117	–	108
41. Total	425	61	485	56	540	52	555	48	600	40
42. Total	116	25	157	32	154	37	155	34	158	39
43. Total	–	–	–	–	–	–	27	–	24	–

APPENDIX – IV

CORRESPONDENCE COURSES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Sl. No.	*Name of the University*	*Name of the Department*	*Correspondence course*	
			At B.A. Level	*At M.A. Level*
1.	Agra University, (Agra)	Department of Political Science, R.B.S. College	No	No
2.	Annamalai University, (Annamalai Nagar, Tamil Nadu)	Department of Political Science	No	No
3.	A.P.S. University, (Rewa, M.P.)	–	No	No
4.	Bangalore University, (Bangalore)	Department of Political Science	No	Yes .. Conducts contact programme and tests for internal assessment.
5.	Berhampur University, (Berhampur, Orissa)	Department of Political Science	No	No
6.	Bhagalpur University, (Bhagalpur, Bihar)	Department of Political Science	No	No
7.	Bihar University, (Muzaffarpur, Bihar)	Department of Political Science	No	No
8.	Dibrugarh University, (Dibrugarh, Assam)	Department of Political Science	No	No
9.	Guru Nanak Dev University, (Amritsar)	Department of Political Science	No	No
10.	Himachal Pradesh University, (Simla)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	No	No
11.	Gujarat University, (Ahmedabad)	Department of Political Science, University School of Social Sciences	No	No
12.	Jiwaji University, (Gwalior, M.P.)	–	No	No
13.	Karnatak University, (Dharwad)	Department of Political Science	No	No
14.	Kurukshetra University, (Kurukshetra)	Department of Political Science	No	No
15.	Madurai Kamaraj University, (Madurai)	Department of Political Science	No	No

APPENDIX – IV *(continued)*

Sl. No.	*Name of the University*	*Name of the Department*	*Correspondence course*	
			At B.A. Level	*At M.A. Level*
16.	Magadh University, (Bodhgaya)	Department of Political Science	No	No
17.	Maharaja Sayajirao University, (Baroda)	Department of Political Science	No	No
18.	Marathwada University, (Aurangabad)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	No	No
19.	Nagarjuna University, (Nagarjunanagar)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	No	No
20.	Nagpur University, (Nagpur)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	No	No
21.	North-Eastern Hill University, (Shillong)	Department of Political Science	No	No
22.	Panjab University, (Chandigarh)	Department of Political Science	No	No
23.	Rohatak University, (Rohatak)	Department of Political Science	No	No
24.	Sambalpur University, (Sambalpur, Orissa)	Postgraduate Department of Political Science and Public Administration	No	No
25.	Sardar Patel University, (Vallabh Vidyanagar, Gujarat)	Department of Political Science	No	No
26.	Saurashtra University, (Rajkot)	–	No	No
27.	Sri Venkateswara University, (Tirupati)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	No	No
28.	University of Allahabad, (Allahabad)	Department of Political Science	No	No
29.	University of Bombay, (Bombay)	Department of Civics & Politics	No	No
30.	University of Calcutta, (Calcutta)	Department of Political Science	No	No
31.	University of Garhwal, (Srinagar, Garhwal, U.P.)	Department of Political Science	No	No
32.	University of Gorakhpur, (Gorakhpur)	Department of Political Science	No	No

APPENDIX – IV *(continued)*

Sl. No.	*Name of the University*	*Name of the Department*	*Correspondence course*	
			At B.A. Level	*At M.A. Level*
33.	University of Jabalpur, (Jabalpur)	Department of Postgraduate Studies and Research in Political Science	No	No
34.	University of Jammu, (Jammu)	Postgraduate Department of Political Science	No	No
35.	University of Kalyani, (Kalyani, W.B.)	Department of Political Science	No	No
36.	University of Kerala, (Kariavattom)	Department of Politics	No	No
37.	University of Kashmir, (Srinagar)	Department of Political Science	No	No
38.	University of North Bengal, (P.O. North Bengal, Distt. Darjeeling)	Department of Political Science	No	No
39.	University of Poona, (Pune)	Department of Politics and Public Administration	No	No
40.	University of Ranchi, (Ranchi)	Department of Political Science	No	Yes
41.	University of Saugar, (Sagar, M.P.)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	No	No
42.	University of Udaipur, (Udaipur)	Department of Political Science and Public Administration	No	No
43.	Visva Bharati, (Santiniketan)	Department of Economics & Politics	No	No

NINE

BANGLADESH: *Emajuddin Ahamed*

Introduction

Politics as a social activity is perhaps as old as mankind, but political science as the systematic study of political institutions and political activities of human beings is relatively new. In absolute terms however political science is "one of the oldest scientific disciplines of the Western World and one of the central concerns in the life of man and society" (Merki, 1967:6). In the Indian sub-continent, the study of political science as a distinct academic discipline is barely forty-four years old. The University of Dacca* was in fact the first University in the sub-continent to institute and organize a separate department of political science. Political science had been a part, albeit a minor part, of political economy or history in the universities till then.

I. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE DISCIPLINE IN THE COUNTRY

The department of political science had been instituted in the University of Dacca* with effect from April 7, 1938. Stating the rationale for such a momentous step in the University, the Annual Report recorded that it had been done "with a view to promoting an intensive study of the growing subject of political science in this University." The teaching of courses both at the undergraduate (B.A. honours) and graduate (M.A.) levels began from July, 1938.[1] D.N. Banerjee, an Associate professor of political economy of the University of Dacca became the Chairman and five more teachers of political economy (one was an assistant professor and four were lecturers) were appointed teachers in the new department of political science.[2]

As a subject, political science became very popular right from the beginning. In the first year of its existence, the number of students on its roll was 214; in 1939-40, it rose to 266, and in 1940-41 to 317. After 1947, the number of students studying political science increased considerably,[3] and ultimately it turned out to be the most favourite subject among the students in the University of Dacca.[4] In the 1970s the number of students, both at the undergraduate and graduate levels, increased still further and in the mid-seventies it crossed the 2000 mark in the various universities of Bangladesh (Table 1).

Teaching of, and research in, political science began in this part of the world in the University of Dacca,[5] and it remained the only institution for the purpose until 1957 when political science department was set up in the Rajshahi University.[6] The Chittagong University was established in 1966 and the department of political

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* The city is now officially spelt as DHAKA; since all the past documents use the old spelling (Dacca), it has been retained in this paper, where necessary.

Table 1. Number of Students Studying Political Science in the universities of Bangladesh, 1974-1980.

Year	*First Year Honours*	*Second Year Honours*	*Third Year Honours*	*M.A. Preliminary*	*M.A. Final*	*Total*
1974	385	429	351	258	462	1885
1975	384	422	358	202	650	2016
1976	384	417	364	198	740	2003
1977	397	405	366	109	619	1896
1978	479	279	407	113	602	1880
1979	479	383	371	91	604	1928
1980	454	464	379	119	700	2116

Source: Compiled from Bangladesh University Grants Commission, *Returns from the Universities 1974 through 1980.*

Table 2. Number of students studying political science and other social sciences in the Universities in Bangladesh, 1974-80

Year	*Political Science*	*Economics*	*Sociology*	*Public Administration*	*International Relations*
1974	1885	1860	1442	284	103
1975	2016	1570	1452	302	101
1976	2003	1567	1469	348	93
1977	1896	1662	1667	380	97
1978	1880	1369	1647	402	96
1979	1928	1720	1599	323	109
1980	2116	1732	1916	460	130

Source: Compiled from Bangladesh University Grants Commission, *Returns from the Universities 1974 through 1980.*

Table 3. Number of Students Studying Political Science at the University of Dacca, 1974-80.

Year	*First Year Honours*	*Second Year Honours*	*Third Year Honours*	*M.A. Preliminary*	*M.A. Final Year*	*Total*
1974	241	284	218	91	202	1036
1975	242	240	268	101	301	1152
1976	150	240	200	100	350	1040
1977	160	209	186	43	313	911
1978	228	153	197	40	298	916
1979	139	128	141	42	294	744
1980	166	139	128	35	363	831

Source: Compiled from Bangladesh University Grants Commission, *Returns from the Universities 1974 through 1980.*

science was instituted there in 1968.[7] In the Jahangirnagar University, the department of government and politics was set up in 1979.[8] Moreover, after 1972 some first grade colleges were also allowed to teach B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. courses in political science.[9] The University of Dacca however has remained the biggest centre in the country both for teaching of political science courses and for research in political science (Table 3).

II. WHAT IS TAUGHT UNDER THE HEADING OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN BANGLADESH?

It is indeed difficult to devise a satisfactory mode of dividing the discipline of political science into areas of study. "In most political science departments of academic institutions," Peter Merkl says, "a combination of principles has been employed for designating the major areas of study as well as the individual courses of instruction" (Merki, 1967:20-1). Sometimes, it is done in consideration of the levels of governmental organization such as local, national and international; sometimes the areas are demarcated on the basis of distinction between political theory and political institutions and processes. In some cases, a simple geographic division into various area studies such as African Study, South-Asian Study, Latin American Study is used. The major areas of study in political science in Bangladesh can, however, be identified by taking the study of government and politics in Bangladesh as the core of the courses and relating other areas to it in terms of functions and importance. Devised that way, the study of government and politics is the core of political science courses in Bangladesh. The principles of political organization, public administration and socio-economic functions of state constitute the other important area of study with which the students can examine the structure of government in their country and analyze its functions. International politics, major foreign governments and politics of South and South-East Asia is another area which throws light on what is happening outside Bangladesh and among the various nations both neighbouring and distant. For scientific study and analysis, research methodology and different approaches to the study of politics, both traditional and modern, become necessary for the effective training of students, and in Bangladesh it is one of the key areas of study in political science. Moreover, political thought, which has always remained important everywhere, is another area of study.

In quantitative terms, the study of government and politics constitutes 25% of the course contents of B.A. (Hons.), 25% of M.A. (Preliminary) and 25% of M.A. (Final) while the principles of political organization, public administration and socio-economic functions constitutes 25% of B.A. (Hons.) and 25% of M.A. (Preliminary). International politics, major foreign governments and politics of South and South-East Asia covers 25% of the contents of B.A. (Hons.) and 25% of M.A. (Preliminary) while research methodology and modern approaches to the study of politics, which is taught at the B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. (Final), covers 12.5% of B.A. (Hons.) and 25% of M.A. (Final) courses. Political thought is another important area of study in political science, and it constitutes 12.5% B.A. (Hons.), 25% of M.A. (Preliminary) and 25% of M.A. (Final) courses. The theories of development and social change cover another 25% of the course content of M.A. (Final)[10]

The present course design in political science has evolved after a series of changes over the last four decades. Some of the changes have been brought about by changes in political circumstances and other have come about in order to take account of developments in the study of the subject itself. The syllabus of political science, which was framed for the first time in 1938, continued to remain almost unchanged upto 1947. After 1947 significant changes were made in the syllabus to suit the changing needs of time and circumstances.

Two events of great national importance have had their profound impact in the history of political science in Bangladesh. The partition of India and emergence of Pakistan as a new state in 1947 is one of such events. In the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan, the ideological content of the "Two Nation theory" played an important role; consequently, the political necessity for educating and reorienting the youths of the new born state became urgently felt. Moreover, certain courses of study began to be felt increasingly useful for citizenship training. That is why after 1947 some of the old courses were overhauled and some new courses were introduced. In fact, the events of 1947 opened new frontiers to the discipline. A new area of study, Islamic political thought and Muslim politics in India, was introduced both at the B.A. and M.A. levels. The study of government and politics in Pakistan was made compulsory at all levels. Political sociology, which was introduced in 1944 as an alternative course for B.A. (Hons.), was restructured. International law and organization was also introduced as another area of study for B.A. (Hons.).

The introduction of these changes in the discipline became easy because most of the "old guards" of the department, especially D.N. Banerjee, who had been the Chairman of the department right from its inception, Dr. A.K. Ghoshal, Dr. A.B. Rudra and M.N. Roy migrated to India in 1947 and made room for new teachers. These new teachers, some of whom were deeply involved in the Pakistan Movement, felt strongly for such changes in the curriculum, and the transition became smooth. The spirit of the time and the new opportunities generated after 1947 facilitated higher training of the young teachers who, in larger number, went abroad and became acquainted with the new developments in the British and American universities. Though political science began to attain an unprecedented growth and development in the United States since the first quarter of this country. Bangladesh political scientists had their initial contacts with the British universities where a number of political scientists from Bangladesh were trained in the fifties and sixties.[11] In the early sixties, however, a group of young teachers went to the United States and Canada for higher education in political science. Columbia, Harvard, Queen's were the preferred campuses. In the late sixties some young teachers went to Chicago and California (Table 4). The impact of all these on the discipline of political science in Bangladesh was deep and abiding. New courses of study such as public administration, socio-economic functions of state, international politics and comparative politics were introduced, and new methods both in teaching and research began to be adopted.

The autonomy movement in East Pakistan in the mid-sixties and its transformation into a fullfledged Liberation Movement in the early seventies was yet another landmark in the development of political science in Bangladesh. Some of the leading political scientists became deeply involved and sharpened the arguments for it; their research findings and analyses were used by the political elite during the movement and afterwards for reconstructing the polity and reconstituting the administrative set up in Bangladesh.

The two dominant schools of thought prevalent among the political scientists in Bangladesh became prominently focused during the movement. One school of thought, led by Abdur Razzaq and M.A. Chaudhuri, and supported by a large group, advocated that research findings and analyses of the political scientists should not only enrich the existing stock of knowledge but should also be put into practice with a view to improving the conditions of society and polity. Another school of thought suggested that political scientists should work only as dispassionate fact-gatherers and analysts and should shut themselves up in the classrooms and libraries from the current waves of political activities. In the late sixties and early seventies the prominent issue, which raised a furore among the Bangladesh political scientists, was related to the nature of Bengali nationalism. One group argued in favour of an alignment with Pakistan nationalism, principally on the force of Islam; while the other group stood for Bengali nationalism on the basis of historical experience and socio-cultural secular elements. The debate became so hot that its ramifications were not contained within the precincts of the University and it ultimately got entangled into national politics; as a consequence, some political scientists were branded as anti-national, and some of them i.e. G.W. Choudhury, M. Rashiduzzaman and Hasan Zaman, left Bangladesh and decided to stay abroad.

After independence in 1971, political science as a discipline has become more outward looking, and it freed itself from the narrow grooves of a set boundary. The discipline has been experiencing a kind of resurgence since then. Adopting a sort of open-door policy it has been absorbing foreign influences, and at the same time there is a marked tendency to integrate traditional thought of the society with Western political thought. As a consequence, the behavioural approach, systems analysis, psychological approach, functional analysis and so on have been integrated with the traditional formal-institutional approaches to the study of politics; at the same time the Western political thought has been integrated with the oriental political philosophy. Attempts are also being made to integrate the political ideas of such Bengali thinkers as A.K. Fazlul Huq, H.S. Suhrawardy, Moulana Bhasani and Sheikh Mujib with the main stream of political philosophy.

Simultaneously, attempts are also made to drive the discipline of political science away from normative emphases and towards a concern with empirical findings and analyses. Political scientists in Bangladesh are applying multi-disciplinary approaches more and more these days in their research and are trying to explore closer relationships of their discipline with other social sciences such as sociology, economics, and anthropology.[12]

In sum, in the 1940s political science in Bangladesh was a discipline only for the study of political thought and theory, and organizational principles, and that too of the Western World; in the 1950s political science became a study of political thought and theory both of the West and the orient, and it began to encompass such areas as international law and organisation, and political sociology; in the 1960s it extended its frontiers by covering public administration, political economy, comparative politics and international politics. In the 1970s it has not only expanded its frontiers but also enriched itself by adopting methodological tools of other social sciences such as sociology, anthropology and economics both in teaching and research. Political science has become by now a mature and an integrated discipline in Bangladesh.

III. MAJOR TRENDS IN TEACHING AND RESEARCH

"In Bangladesh almost the whole of the teacher's working time appears to be devoted to teaching", though academic profession should be devoted to "the preservation, expansion and communication of knowledge and understanding" (Morris – Jones, 1980:43). Teaching in the sense of communication of knowledge is only a part of the whole complex of scholarly activities, and unless there is expansion and cultivation of knowledge can there really be anything to communicate? This is the type of questions once Morris – Jones posed after reviewing the study of political science in Bangladesh. Describing the teaching format and content of courses in political science and narrating the main themes and methods of research works of the prominent Bangladesh political scientists, this section analyzes the major trends both in teaching and research in the Universities of Bangladesh.

1. Teaching Format in the Universities

Political science courses are taught in the universities only at the B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. levels. Special courses are also offered for M. Phil. and Ph.D. students. Having passed the Higher Secondary Certificate Examination (equivalent to the 12th grade schooling) and securing good grades, the students seek admission in B.A. (Hons.) which has always been of three academic years in the universities of Bangladesh. At the B.A. (Hons.) level, the students are required to attend a certain number of class lectures in eight papers (or courses) and do some tutorial exercises and finally to undergo a rigorous test at the end of three academic sessions. The honours graduates are then enrolled in M.A. final part. After one year's course work and tutorials they become eligible for M.A. (final) examination. The students who complete only B.A. (Pass) courses are required to get admitted into M.A. preliminary, and after one years' course work and other satisfactory tests they move on to M.A. final part.[13] The students of both M.A. preliminary and M.A. final part are required to attend a certain number of class lectures and do some tutorial exercises in four papers (or courses). In B.A. (Pass) courses, which is taught in the degree colleges, there are three papers. This format prevails in all the Universities in Bangladesh. Though political science courses are taught in 14 colleges and four Universities in Bangladesh, the main burden of teaching of, and research work in, political science is borne by the universities in general and by the University of Dacca in particular since it was the University of Dacca where teaching of political science began for the first time and it is still the premier institution in the country.

2. Content of Courses in Political Science

The department of political science had been instituted in the University of Dacca, and teaching of courses both in B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. began from July, 1938. While identifying the content of courses and priority assigned to different courses in political science during the late 1930s and 1940s in the University of Dacca, we are reminded of one of the generalizations of W.J.M. Mackenzie. In his own words, the students of political science "everywhere, and almost everywhere" are "initiated into a tradition of political thought by a study of 'great books' " (MacKenzie, 1967:59). When the syllabus of the department of political science was framed for the first time in 1938, political thought, and principles of political organization and problems of government featured prominently. The political thought, both of the ancient, medieval and modern periods, and the study of the classics such as Plato's *Republic,* Aristotle's *Politics,* Machiavelli's *Prince, Leviathan* of Hobbes and *Social Contact* of Rousseau, became the most important area of study, and it constituted 25% of the course content of B.A. (Hons.), 37.5% of M.A. preliminary and 50% of M.A. final;[14] while the principles of political organization and problems of government were other important areas of study, covering 12.5% of the course content of B.A. (Hons.), 25% of M.A. preliminary and 25% of M.A. final. The study of the government of India and some major foreign governments, especially those of the U.K., the U.S.A., France and Switzerland, and public finance and local government, of the U.K., France and India, were the other major areas of study. The entire curriculum had a western bias and a traditional mooring. The attention of the students was drawn mainly to the thoughts and ideas of the western political thinkers and philosophers and to the political problems and processes of the western countries. Though political thought and theory featured prominently in the syllabus, yet no scope was provided to explore and analyze the thought of the oriental thinkers and to relate them to western philosophy. Though Kautilya's *Arthashastra* was one of the 35 important text and reference books in political thought for B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. courses, yet it was referred casually to students, and they could secure very good grades even without caring to know its call numbers. The principles of political organization and problems of government constituted an important area of study, but here also the students were to examine the nature of problems and analyze issues which were real to western societies. Only in the study of the government of India the students could go deeper and analyze problems with which they were familiar and only there they could form their own opinions and take their stand. Comparative foreign governments, which generally comprised the major foreign governments, were handled in the manner of area studies, and the students were required to go through configurative descriptions of three or four western governments. The study of comparative governments reflected a preoccupation with formal structures and legal framework, and emphasis was often placed upon the organized institutions of government. The students were to concentrate mainly on the nature of constitutions, cabinets, parliaments and courts. In the area of local government, and of public finance, which formed the integral part of the course design, the students were instructed to discuss and explain the issues they were familiar with in their own society and compare them with those of the western society. In fact, a student completing the courses in political science could be conversant with the ideas and arguments of the great political philosophers of the west, could understand the problems of government and niceties of the political systems of the west and become familiar with the lines of argument prevailing in the western society. About his own society and polity he remained as ignorant and innocuous as ever.

After 1947, however, major changes took place both in the content of courses and in the priority assigned to different courses. Political thought and principles of political organization continued to remain important as an area of study. Though political sociology began to be offered as a course for B.A. (Hons.) from 1944 it became a major course only after 1947. Its significance can be understood from the fact that separate departments of sociology were opened in the Universities of Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong in the 1950s and 1960s. The study of government and politics in Pakistan began to be emphasized from this time and it became another important course for all levels and remained one of the major courses until 1971. It was replaced by the study of government and politics in Bangladesh, which in fact became the core course in political science in the universities since 1972.

International law and organization began to be emphasized as another important course for B.A. (Hons.) after 1947 and it continued to remain so until 1969 when the Chittagong University did the pioneering work of introducing international politics and comparative government. The University of Dacca adopted it in 1972, and international politics along with politics of South and South-East Asia and comparative foreign governments became one of the major areas of study in political science. Public administration and socio-economic functions of state turned out to be another major area of study from the early sixties, and this area became more important in the seventies.

Islamic political thought and institutions, and Muslim politics in India with special reference to Pakistan Movement became another major area of study in political science in the universities of Bangladesh after 1947, especially for M.A. level, and it continued to remain so upto 1971. Priority assigned to it became lower and lower with the passage of time, and only in the University of Dacca the study of Islamic thought and institutions persists in the form of oriental political philosophy. Muslim politics in India has been substituted by politics and personalities in the subcontinent and it survives as a course for B.A. (Hons.) in the University of Dacca as a low priority course.

Another major change took place in the course contents of political science in the universities of Bangladesh since independence in 1971. The study of modern approaches to the study of politics has been assigned a high priority since then, and this course, either in the form of qualitative and quantitative approaches to the study of politics as in the University of Dacca or in the form of comparative politics as in the Chittagong University, has been a major course for B.A. (Hons.) For M.A., the research methodology has received a high degree of emphasis in the universities, especially in the Universities of Dacca and Chittagong. The theories of development and social change is another area of study in political science, which has received a high priority as a course for M.A. in the universities of Bangladesh.

In sum, the course content of political science, which had been devised during the late thirties, underwent a thorough transformation in the fifties and sixties. Even the priority assigned to different courses at that time changed beyond recognition. Theories of development and social change, comprising the historical, social-psychological and marxist approaches; the study of government and politics in Bangladesh with the help of modern approaches; the study of research methodology underlying behaviouralistic-quantitative approaches; public administration and political economy; international politics comprising the theoretical conceptualization along with foreign policy analysis; the study of comparative government with the help of modern theoretical sophistications are some of the high priority courses in political science in the universities of Bangladesh today. The only link that binds the political science courses over a long period of time and provides continuity has been the study of political thought and principles of political organization; but even here considerable changes have been brought in both in the scope of study as well as in the method of handling them. Instead of emphasizing on the configurative descriptions of the various aspects of thought and theory, the students are encouraged to explain, analyze and relate them to socio-economic forces of the society.

Several factors, as we have noted already, have been responsible for this profound change and transformation. The partition of India and the emergence of Pakistan, and the new opportunities which were generated as a consequence provided enough scope for the training of young scholars in the British and North-American Universities where political science had attained a new height. These scholars, spending quite some time in the exciting and creative environments of these seats of learning, became deeply influenced and coming back to their parent universities tried to shape the departments after their cherished model. Time was also in their favour in the sense that funding support was available in plenty from such organization as USAID, Ford Foundation, Asia Foundation to establish linkage with the western universities and maintain them through study sessions, seminars, visits etc. Moreover, some western scholars, especially the American scholars, visited Bangladesh universities quite frequently during the fifties and sixties, and their visits and associations also stimulated the changes in this direction.

3. Method of Teaching

The two basic teaching methods currently in use in the universities of Bangladesh are class lectures and group tutorials. Both of these are closely related to subjects of examinations. In a class lecture of 50 minutes a teacher discusses different aspects of a problem; in every paper a teacher is expected to deliver approximately 30 to 35 lectures. In these lectures, there is very little scope for students' participation. In tutorials, however, the students are free to raise questions and invite discussion; but generally it is a one way traffic with students invariably at the receiving end.

Bengali is the medium of instruction in the universities of Bangladesh, though English is liberally used by the teachers in classes and a few students also write their scripts in English. The teachers, however, publish their papers and research findings mostly in English and in the international journals for the obvious reason of making themselves known to the outside world. As a consequence, there are a few better books in Bengali, and most of them are translations of the classics and standard text books. This has created a host of problems both for the teachers and the students. The teachers find it difficult to communicate with their students; the students do not get good books in Bengali and depend on the cheap materials which are easily available in the market.

4. Research in Political Science

In the area of research in political science certain features stand out prominently. The leading Bangladesh political scientists are in their mid-forties (Table 4). Most of the leading political scientists (80%) did their Ph.D. in the British and North-American universities (7 in the British, 10 in the American and 2 in the Canadian universities); a few of them did their masters also in those universities. The major works of most of the Bangladesh political scientists have been their Ph.D. dissertations, published in English, and most of them have been on Pakistan/Bangladesh politics and Pakistan/Bangladesh administrative system.

If one formulates a broad sub-division of the areas of research on the basis of the major works done by the Bangladesh political scientists, they can be grouped under the following categories; (i) political development and social change; (ii) local government and rural politics, (iii) bureaucracy and administration, (iv) political behaviour and social problems and (v) international relations (Table 5). Judged by the criterion of sheer number of major works already done, political development and social change, and bureaucracy and administration are the two most preferred areas of research for the Bangladesh political scientists. Again judged by the number of research publications in English, Arisuzzaman says, six Political scientists of Bangladesh i.e. M.A. Choudhuri, G.W. Choudhury, A.T.R. Rahman, Rashiduzzaman, Talukkder Maniruzzaman and Rounaq Jahan, stand out prominently, each of them having three or more research works published in English, but if works in Bengali are counted then Hasan Zaman, Badruddin Umar, Emajuddin Ahmed and B.K. Jahangir become the most eminent scholars, since each of them have more than three works published in Bengali and some of them i.e. Emajuddin Ahmed and B.K. Jahangir, have equal number of research publications in English (Anisuzzaman, 1979).

If political philosophy, comparative politics and theories of development, public administration and international relations are identified as the four major areas of study in political science in Bangladesh then G.W. Choudhury, Talukdar Maniruzzaman, Rounaq Jahan, Rashiduzzaman and R.I. Choudhury have been noted for their contribution to comparative politics and political development; equally noted have been the contributions of M.A. Choudhuri, Emajuddin Ahmed, Anisuzzaman, Mohabbat Khan and A.N.M. Shamsul Hoque in the area of bureaucracy and public administration. Sardar Fazlul Karim, S.M. Ali and Nur Mohammad Mia did some useful works in political thought by translating some of the classics and interpreting them in a new light. The area of international politics has not been able to attract the abiding interest of the major political scientists so far. Ataur Rahman's work, delineating dependency relations between the U.S.A. and Pakistan seems to be a seminal one. G.W. Choudhury, in some of his works, has showed interest in the super-power's role and activities in South Asia. Azizul Haque and Istiaq Hossain have been busy these days working on relationship of Bangladesh with other countries. The works of A.T.R. Rahman, Najmul Abedin, and B.K. Jahangir on local government and rural politics have been quite fruitful, and they are followed up by a larger number of young scholars.

5. Nature of Research in Political Science

Morris-Jones, a reputed British political scientist, defined research activity

Table 4. Research Works of Bangladeshi Political Scientists and their Major Works, 1949-1982

Sl. No.	*Name*	*Age : Year*	*Highest Degree obtained*	*University/ School*	*Date of the last Degree*	*Major Work*
1.	Abdur Razzaq	66	M.A.	Dacca	1936	*Political Parties in India, 1957* (unpublished).
2.	M.A. Choudhuri*		Ph.D.	London	1962	*The Civil Service in Pakistan*, Dacca *: 1963*
3.	Sardar Fazlul Karim	57	M.A.	Dacca	1946	*Darshan Kosh, Dacca : 1977*
4.	Hasan Zaman**		Ph.D.	London	1964	*Rise of Muslim Middle class as a Political factor India and Pakistan* Dacca : 19
5.	G.W. Chowdhury	56	Ph.D.	Columbia	1954	*Constitutional Development in Pakistan*, New York: 1959.
6.	Ali Ahmed	55	Ph.D.	Briston	1966	*Role of the Higher Civil Servants in Pakistan*, Dacca : 1968.
7.	Mahfuzul Huq***		Ph.D.	Columbia	1964	*Electoral Problem in Pakistan*, Dacca : 1966.
8.	Syed Moqusued Ali	56	M.P.A.	Syracuse	1966	*Rastra Bijnan*, Dacca : 1966.
9.	Badruddin Umar	51	M.A.	Oxford	1960	*Purba Banglar Bhasa Andolan O Tatkalin Rajniti*, Calcutta, 1977.
10.	Emajuddin Ahmed	49	Ph.D.	Queen's	1977	*Bureaucratic Elites in Segmented Economic Growth: Bangladesh and Pakistan*, Dacca : 1981.
11.	A.N.M. Shamsul Haque	49	Ph.D.	Duke	1968	*Administrative Reform in Pakistan*, Dacca : 1970.
12.	A.T.R. Rahman	48	Ph.D.	Duke	1964	*Basic Democracies at the Grassroots*, Comilla : 1962.
13.	R.I. Chowdhury	48	Ph.D.	Oregon	1966	*Leadership and Political Development: a Comparative Study of Indian and Nigerian Political Elites, 1966* (unpublished).
14.	Burhanuddin Khan Jahangir	48	Ph.D.	Durham	1976	*Differentiation, Polarisation and Confrontation in Rural Bangladesh*, Dacca : 1979.
15.	M. Rashiduzzaman	48	Ph.D.	Durham	1964	*The Central Legislature in British India 1921-1947*, Dacca : 1965.
16.	Md. Anisuzzaman	48	Ph.D.	Syracuse	1976	*The Circle Officer: Study of His Role*, Dacca : 1963.
17.	Azizul Hoque	45	Ph.D.	Nottingham	1972	*Pakistan's External Relations with Particular Reference to China*, 1972 (Unpublished).
18.	Zillur Rahman Khan	45	Ph.D.	California	1964	*Autonomy and Constitution-Making: The case of Bangladesh*, Dacca : 1971.
19.	Talukdar Maniruzzaman	45	Ph.D.	Oneric	1966	*The Politics of Development: The Case of Pakistan 1947-58*, Dacca : 1970.

Table 4. *(continued)*

Sl. No.	*Name*	*Age : Year*	*Highest Degree obtained*	*University/ School*	*Date of the last Degree*	*Major Work*
20.	Najmul Abedin	44	Ph.D.	Durham	1969	*Local Administration and Politics in Modernizing Societies: Bangladesh and Pakistan*, Dacca : 1973.
21.	Najma Choudhury	42	Ph.D.	London	1973	*Legislative Process in Bangladesh Politics and Functioning of the East Bengal Legislature 1947-58*, Dacca : 1980.
22.	Rounaq Jahan	41	Ph.D.	Harvard	1970	*Pakistan: Failure in National Integration*, New York : 1972.
23.	Md. Mohabbat Khan	37	Ph.D.	Southern California	1976	*Bureaucratic Self-Preservation*, Dacca : 1980.
24.	Ataur Rahman	37	Ph.D.	Chicago	1978	*Pakistan and America: Dependency Relations*, New Delhi : 1982.

* Professor M.A. Choudhuri died in January, 1978.

** Hasan Zaman died in 1981 in Saudi Arabia.

*** Mahfuzue Hug died in a helicopter crash in 1967.

Table 5. Main areas of research of the Bangladeshi political scientists

A.	**Political Development and Social Change:**			
	1.	G. W. Choudhury	i)	*Constitutional Development in Pakistan*, New York : 1959.
			ii)	*Democracy in Pakistan*, Dacca : 1963
	2.	M. Rashiduzzaman	i)	*The Central Legislature in British India 1921-1947*, Dacca : 1965.
	3.	Zillur Rahman Khan	i)	*Autonomy and Constitution-Making: The Case of Bangladesh*, Dacca : 1971.
	4.	Talukdar Maniruzzaman	i)	*The politics of Development: The Case of Pakistan 1947-58*, Dacca : 1970.
			ii)	*The Bangladesh Revolution and Its Aftermath*, Dacca : 1980.
	5.	Rounaq Jahan	i)	*Pakistan: Failure in National Integration*, New York, 1972.
			ii)	*Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues*, Dacca : 1980.
	6.	Najma Chowdhury	i)	*Legislative Process in Bangladesh Politics and Functioning of the East Bengal Legistature 1947-58*, Dacca : 1980.
B.	**Local Government and Rural Politics:**			
	1.	A.T.R. Rahman		*Basic Democracies at the Grassroots*, Comilla : 1962.
	2.	Najmul Abedin		*Local Administration and Politics in Modernizing Societies; Bangladesh and Pakistan*, Dacca : 1973.
	3.	Burhanuddin Khan Jahangir		*Differentiation, Polarisation and Confrontation in Rural Bangladesh*, Dacca : 1979.
C.	**Bureaucracy and Administration:**			
	1.	Muzaffar Ahmed Choudhuri		*The Civil Service in Pakistan*, Dacca : 1963.
	2.	Ali Ahmed		*Role of the Higher Civil Servants in Pakistan*, Dacca : 1968.
	3.	A.N.M. Shamsul Hoque		*Administrative Reforms in Pakistan*, Dacca : 1970
	4.	Md. Mohabbat Khan		*Bureaucratic Self-Preservation*, Dacca : 1980
	5.	M. Anisuzzaman	i)	*The Circle Officer : A Study of Hie Role*, Dacca : 1963
			ii)	*Bangladesh Public Administration and Society*, Dacca : 1979.
	6.	Emajuddin Ahamed	i)	*Bureaucratic Elites in Segmented Economic Growth: Bangladesh and Pakistan*, Dacca : 1981
			ii)	*Bangladesh: Development Administration*, Dacca : 1981
			iii)	*Bangladesh Lok Proshasan*, [Public Administration in Bangladesh], Dacca : 1980.
D.	**Political Behaviour and Social Problems:**			
	1.	Hasan Zaman		*Rise of Muslim Middle Class as a Political Factor in India and Pakistan*, Dacca : 1970.
	2.	Mahfuzul Huq		*Electoral Problem in Pakistan*, Dacca : 1966.
	3.	Badruddin Umar		*Purba Banglar Bhasa Andolan O Tatkalin Rainiti* (Language Movement in East Bengal and Contemporary Politics], Calcutta : 1971.
E.	**International Relations:**			
	1.	Ataur Rahman		*Pakistan and America: Dependency Relations*, New Delhi : 1982.

in political science as "scholarly inquiry" and observed that "this is no more and no less than integral part of the academic's role, necessary for his own intellectual growth, for its indirect benefit to the students and for the expansion of knowledge". Commenting on the inaction of the Bangladesh political scientists in this important area, he stated that there was to be found in Bangladesh "the strange conjunction of an area of darkness and massive inactivity on the part of those whose business it is to throw light" (Morris – Jones, op. cit : 50). If this standard for research is applied to the works of leading Bangladesh political scientists, their standing in this respect may not be very high. In most cases, Ph.D. dissertations of these scholars are their major research works, but these works, it is easily understood, were done under guidance, required for degrees and with substantial contributions from the supervisors or committees. The Bangladesh political scientists have not been interested in theoretical works. With a few exceptions, most of the works have been done on contemporary Bangladesh/Pakistan politics. None in fact has expanded his research framework to include comparative situations even in the neighbouring countries.

There are, of course, a few political scientists who are prolific in writing essay-type articles which are published in national and international journals. The titles of some of these articles indicate that they are no more then general commentaries on current political happenings limited by temporal and spatial dimensions. The articles such as "Bangladesh in 1974", "Bangladesh in 1975", "Bangladesh in 1980", published year by year in *Asia Survey* pass for research papers. Anisuzzaman, a leading political scientist, laments that "these are the only ones we have been able to produce, and by and large, these are based on available data, albeit secondary." These are indeed different from research papers since most of these do not have any theoretical framework and they are not designed to test any hypothesis. Consequently no one gets "the sense of historic direction of events by systematic digging and interpretation of facts over a considerable period of time" (Anisuzzaman, 1979 : 7).

Nevertheless, there are quite good research works in political science in Bangladesh which can satisfactorily meet the criterion of scholarly inquiry. The researches undertaken these days by the political scientists differ very much from those of their predecessors both in themes and methods, and even a casual observer will notice that the level of workmanship and skill, the extent of methodological rigour and the degree of intellectual growth, which are present in contemporary works, were absent in the researches completed two or three decades ago.

In the past, only a few political scientists were found interested in research works, and the areas of their research were also limited. Most of those works were descriptive. Even in the discriptions there was a kind of loose weaving of facts and fiction, and data had most often been collected from unreliable secondary sources. As a consequence, these works failed to provide any conclusion, not to speak of testing any hypothesis. There was seldom any theoretical underpinning.

6. Research Works During 1938-1948

During the period 1938-1948 only six political scientists were found to publish research papers (table 6), and of them D.N. Banerjee was the most prolific one. His main interest centred on the political and revenue systems of the East India Company in Bengal. His description of the early administrative system of the East India Company in Bengal and the early land revenue system in Bengal and Bihar were useful studies in that they portrayed the systems and their workings in details, but these studies failed to analyze why the kind of systyms that had emerged was established in Bengal and Bihar and how they were imposed in a society in collaboration with the dominant social forces and with what impact, both short and long-run. Moreover, in most of the fifteen articles published during the period, in local journals such as the *Dacca University Studies (July 1938)*, *Bengal: Past and Present* (January-July 1938), *The Indian Journal of Political Science* (July-September 1939, April-June 1941, April-June 1942), *Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vols. XVII, XVIII, XX, *The Calcutta Review* (August-1942 and March-1945), *Modern Review*, 1944 & 1945, D.N. Banerjee discussed various aspects of Indian constitutional problems, but nowhere did he embark on an in-depth analysis of any aspect of such problems.

Table 6. Research works of political scientists of the University of Dacca, 1938-48

Sl. No.	*Name*		*Major Works*
1.	D.N. Banerjee	i)	*Early Administration System of the East India Company in Bengal*, 1765-1774, London : 1944.
		ii)	*Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*, Calcutta : 1936.
		iii)	*Partition or a Federation : A Study of the Indian Constitutional Problem*, Calcutta : 1945.
2.	A.K. Sen		*Islamic State and Other Political Essays*, Dacca : 1950
3.	A.K. Ghosal	i)	*Civil Service in India Under the East India Company*, Calcutta : 1944.
		ii)	"Indianization of the Civil Services," *The Calcutta Review*, September, October, December 1945 and April, 1946 issues.
4.	A.B. Rudra	i)	*The Viceroy and the Governor-General of India*, London : 1949.
		ii)	*The Problem of Indian Constitution*, Patna : 1944.
5.	Manzooruddin Ahmed		*Pakistan as an Islamic State*, Dacca : 1965.
6.	A.K. Nazmul Karim		*Changing Society in India and Pakistan*, Dacca : 1953.

Though a reputed teacher, A.K. Sen, on the other hand, could not go even that far, and in the 5 or 6 articles published in local journals such as *Indian Journal of Political Science* (April-June 1943), *Modern Review* (December 1947), and *The New Values* (September 1949), he made commentaries on the contemporary events like the nature of ministries formed in two Bengals or some aspects of social life in India. A.K. Ghoshal, however, undertook a serious research on the history of the Civil Service of India, and his major work, *The Civil Service in Indian Under the East India Company* was a path-breeking work in the sense that the theme was later on taken up by a number of political scientists like M.A. Choudhuri, Ali Ahmed and so on. Ghosal's other works, "Indianization of the Civil Services", "Constitutional

Relation between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control", "Civil Service of India at the beginning of the Crown's Rule", published in *The Calcutta Review* (July 1945, September, October, December 1945 and April 1946), and *The Indian Journal of Political Science* (October and December 1942) were related to his major work. In all these works, Ghosal could not go beyond producing first class narratives, and nowhere could he relate why such an institution emerged in India and not in other colonies, how the socio-political structures of the Indian society supported it, and under what circumstances institution like this could operate and function.

A.B. Rudra's *The Viceroy and the Governor-General of India* was a good work of the period, but his approach was formal-institutional, and nowhere could be demonstrate the keen insight and workmanship of an able researcher especially in political science. Analytical depth was conspicuous by its absence in the work, and he traced the development of that institution without caring to relate it to social forces.

7. Research Works During 1949-1969

After 1947 there was a great improvement in this area, and during these two decades not only were the interests of research diversified but its area was also greatly expanded. Honzooruddin Ahmed and A.K. Nazmul Karim opened new frontiers in research works in political science: the former by exploring the society through the lens of Islamic ideology and the latter by identifying it through an in-depth analysis of the social structures.[15] These are instances not only of the new themes and issues ignored till then but also of new methods, although these methods took another decade for necessary refinement and sophistication. Abdur Razzaq, in his work, *Political Parties in India,* added another dimension in the area of research. Unlike his prodecessors, Abdur Razzaq adopted the techniques of comparative analysis and attempted to relate the structures and functions of political parties in India to socio-economic forces in Indian society.

G.W. Choudhury was one of the first political scientists to receive training in a North-American University and get oriented to that tradition. In seven books and more than a score articles, Choudhury has handled a number of themes. In his earlier writings he concentrated mainly on the constitutional development in Pakistan and democratic system in Pakistan and its constraints; but his recent writings reflect his interest on international relations, especially on the big powers' role and activities in South Asia.[16]

Rashiduzzaman's major work, *The General Legislature in British India* 1921-47 (1965) is patterned on Rudra's institutional study of *The Viceroy and the Governor-General of India.* But he has been able to bring in variety and methodological rigour. His other works, *Pakistan: A Study of Government and Politics* (1967) and *Politics and Administration in the Local Councils* (1968) may be regarded as a part of his larger design of studying the political institutions and processes in Pakistan. In more than a dozen articles published in national and international journals such as *Asian Survey* (July 1970 and March 1972), *Pacific Affairs* (Fall 1970), to mention a few of them, he has analyzed the leadership pattern of some of the Bangladesh political parties and their role in the Liberation Movement.

Zillur Rahman Khan and Mahfuzul Huq, closely following G.W. Choudhury, continued with the theme of political development and change in Pakistan and enriched the field still further. Analyzing the electoral issue in Pakistan and specifically handling the issue of joint electorate vs separate electorate, a peculiar electoral problem known to the sub-continent, Mahfuzul Huq set a new tone to the area of research whereas Zillur Rahman Khan, working on the popular issue of Autonomy Movement in East Pakistan and relating it to constitution-making, added yet another dimension to it. His articles, analyzing the genesis of Bangladesh from different perspectives and problems that cropped up in Bangladesh, are full of insights.

Following Monzooruddin Ahmed, Hasan Zaman concentrated mainly on Muslim politics in India with special reference to the Pakistan Movement, and in his major work, *Rise of Muslim Middle Class as a Political Factor in India and Pakistan 1958-1947,* (1970) he marshalled data collected from different sources in an adroit manner and made the old theme look new and revitalized it so much so that it became one of the absorbing areas both for teaching and research. In another seven books, written in Bengali and published in Dhaka, he focused on the various aspects of Pakistan nationalism.

Talukdar Maniruzzaman and Rounaq Jahan, true to the tradition of their predeccessors, have continued to work on the theme of political development and social change. Unlike many others preceding them, Talukdar Maniruzzaman and Rounaq Jahan have been able to bring in not only analytical depth but also variety and complexity in their treatment, and have sharpened the foci of their analyses and executed their researches with the help of multi-disciplinary approaches. In his *Politics of Development: The Case of Pakistan* (1971), Talukdar has focused on the nature of political development that had taken place in Pakistan during 1947-58. *The Bangladesh Revolution and Its Aftermath* (1980) is another well researched work by Talukdar. Besides, in 19 articles published in national and international journals such as *Pacific Affairs* (Spring-Summer 1966), *Asian Survey* (February 1975 and February 1976), *The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* (March 1979) he has analyzed different aspects of socio-political problems of Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Rounaq Jahan, in her major work, *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration* (1972), has analyzed how in the plural society of Pakistan the emphasis on state building activities by the political elite resulted in gross neglect of nation-building activities which ultimately brought about its disintegration. In her other works, *Women and Development: Perspectives from South and South-East Asia* (1979) and *Bangladesh Politics : Problems and Issues* (1981) and in more than a dozen articles, published in such journals as *Asian Survey* (February 1973 and February 1974), *Orbis* (Autumn 1973), *The Round Table* (January 1976) and *Legislative Studies Quarterly* (August 1976), she has handled a number of issues such as women's role in development, Bangladesh legislators' socio-economic background, voters' choice and so on.

In the sub-field of bureaucracy and administration, M.A. Choudhuri did some pioneering work. Though he worked on the theme introduced by A.K. Ghoshal, yet he gave it a new life and new direction. In fact, his work can be regarded as the first serious work in public personnel administration in Bangladesh; tracing the growth of the centrally recruited civil service of Pakistan, and analyzing its trends and set-up, Choudhuri in his major work, *The Civil Service in Pakistan* (1963), identified the direction in which it should be modified to suit the changing needs of the time. Ali Ahmed, in his major work, *The Role of Higher Civil Servants in Pakistan* (1968), devoted himself to a comparative inquiry. A.N. Shamsul Haque's *Administrative Reforms in Pakistan* (1970), M. Anisuzzaman's *Bangladesh Public Administration and Society* (1979) and *The Circle Officer: The Study of His Role* (1963), and Mohabbat Khan's *Bureaucratic Self-Preservation: Failure of Major Administrative Reform Efforts in the Civil Service of Pakistan* (1981) may indeed be viewed as follow-up studies in the same sub-field. M.A. Choudhuri's *An Examination of the Criticism Against Bureaucracy* (1965) is a related work, though narrow-focused and well-executed. In other works, *Rural Government in East Pakistan*, (1969) and *Government and Politics in Pakistan* (1968) he, in fact, followed his predecessors, though he could revitalize the area considerably.

Though in the same sub-field, Emajuddin Ahmed's research works have a distinctive character. His major work, *Bureaucratic Elites in Segmented Economic Growth: Bangladesh and Pakistan*, (1980), is a policy-oriented work, and the main findings indicate that the dominant role of the bureaucratic elites is not adequate for the purpose both of economic and political development in countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh. His *Bangladesh: Development Administration* (1981) and *Bangladesh Lok Proshashan* [Public Administration in Bangladesh] (1980) are mainly devoted to the analysis of developmental aspects of administrative system in Bangladesh and are designed to identify the existing inadequacies both in the structure and functions of the system and in the orientations of the bureaucrats. In three other books, written in Bengali and in more than twenty articles published in the national and international journals such as *Asian Survey* (November 1979), *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* (October – December 1978), *The Indian Political Science Review* (January 1979 and January 1980), *South-Asian Studies* (January-June 1981), he has concentrated mainly on the politico-economic problems in Bangladesh.

A.T.R. Rahman played a pioneering role in initiating research works in local government and rural politics, and his *Basic Democracies at the Grass Roots* (1962) and *Rural Works Programmes : East Pakistan* 1963-64 (1964) are great works in this sub-field. Najmul Abedin took it up quite seriously and his major work, *Local Administration and Politics in Modernizing Societies: Bangladesh and Pakistan* (1973) may be regarded as a follow-up study. Burhanuddin Khan Jahangir has made his presence felt not only for his sociological-anthropological approach but also for his penetrating search into rural society. His major work, *Differentiation, Polarisation and Confrontation in Rural Bangladesh* (1979) is a good work in this sub-field. In more than 10 articles and monographs he has concentrated on various aspects of rural society in Bangladesh.

The area of international relations, as it has been pointed out, has never been an area of sustained research activities by the Bangladesh political scientists. However, there are indications that it will receive more and more attention in the future. G.W. Choudhury was the first political scientist to get interested in this sub-field and his work, *Pakistan's Relationship with India* (1968) was the pathbreaking one; Azizul Haque's *Pakistan's External Relations with Particular Reference to China* (1972) was the second major work. Ataur Rahman's *Pakistan and America: Dependency Relations* (1982) is another important work. Ishtiaq Hossain, Badiul Alam and some other young scholars are working in this areas P.I. Choudhury's major work, *Leadership and Political Development: A Comparative Study of Indian and Nigerian Political Elites,* cannot be placed in this sub-field, but as a comparative analysis of the elite behaviour in terms of actions and priorities in two different socio-cultural setting, it is a commendable work. Badruddin Umar, writing in Bengali and analyzing socio-economic problems of Bangladesh Society, has been at his best in his work, *Purba Banglar Bhasa Anodolon O' Tatkalin Rajniti* [The Language Movement in East Bengal and Contemporary Politics], (1971). He has seven publications to his credit.

In sum, contemporary research of the Bangladesh Political scientists reflects certain trends. First, these works are marked by variety in terms of themes and interests. In fact, all areas of political science except political thought have been the foci of sustained research works these days. In political thought too some useful work is done; some of the classics have been rendered into vernacular and interpreted in new light. Second, there is a marked trend towards interdisciplinary approach and the leading political scientists have been using new approaches to the study of politics and public administration. In most of the works done during the late sixties and seventies quantitative approach has been liberally used. Third, most of the leading political scientists have become more and more interested in empirical research. In all these cases one can observe a happy blending of the empirical findings and theoretical underpinnings. Moreover, the analytical tools, which have proved quite useful in other social sciences, have been in greater use in political science these days. If one considers some representative works of the seventies such as Rounaq Jahan's *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration,* Talukdar Maniruzzaman's *The Bangladesh Revolution and Its Aftermath,* Emajuddin Ahmed's *Bureaucratic Elites in Segmented Economic Growth: Bangladesh and Pakistan,* B.K. Jahangir's *Differentiation, Polarisation and Confrontation in Rural Bangladesh,* one can get a clear picture of the present trend in research in political science in Bangladesh.

IV. PROBLEMS OF PROFESSION

We have already seen how over the period of a half century the discipline of political science developed in the universities of Bangladesh. We have also noted the major trends in teaching and research in political science. In this chapter we shall analyze the question of professionalization of political science, describe the educational background of the Bangladesh political scientists and their placement pattern, and examine the incentives and mechanisms for research in political science and other related problems.

1. Professionalization of Political Science

Though political science has by now become one of the well-established and reputed academic disciplines in the universities of Bangladesh and though political scientists constitute a highly trained group of scholars, yet political science has not been adequately professionalized; even its possibility in the near future seems to be remote. The course content of political science and the expertise available to the discipline have not yet been linked with the relevant areas of socio-political life; the generalization of the political scientists have not yet been used as problem solving devices. First, the very nature of development of the discipline all over the world is, in the words of Oran Young, "characterized at present by a substantial lack of tidiness and order"(Young, 1968 : 100). The discipline of political science, as a consequence, has not been able to attain the level of methodological rigour and sophistication which a sister discipline like economics has been able to do. Moreover, the essence of politics and administration, their nature and true significance, "being always and at all times ambivalent", (Duverger 1967 : XIII) has not been amenable to "scientific" analysis and concrete generalizations. Probably that is mainly responsible for its low level of professionalization. Second, the performance of the Bangladesh political scientists is also partly responsible for this, because though the level of their performance both in teaching and research is quite high in terms of individual achievement, yet their group activities, especially in the context of societal needs have not been impressive. Third, the professional organization of the Bangladesh political scientists, ***Bangladesh Political Science Association,*** which could have lent respectability to the profession and organizational strength to the political scientists, has been relatively weak.

For all these reasons, there is no special institution in Bangladesh, which is exclusively manned by, and meant for, the political scientists, though such research institutions as Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS), Bangladesh Agricultural Research Centre (BARC) are manned by the economists. Of course, it is true that some political scientists of the country have worked in the research centres or public administration training institutes, and some of them have served in the Committees which had to suggest measures for administrative reorganization and such other things,[17] but those positions have been offered to them not only because of their specialized training and long academic preparation but also for their personal influence and linkages with the government. It is also very difficult to identify the commonly shared codes of conduct among the political scientists.

By and large, the political scientists of the country are engaged in teaching political science both in the universities and colleges, and if it is a profession, it has remained basically a teaching profession. For appointment as a lecturer in a university, which is the lowest position in the faculty, one has to secure very good grades both in honours and masters levels, preferably first classes, and must have research potential. A lecturer can go to the next higher position as assistant professor only if he puts in at least three years' teaching experience and has a number of research publications to his credit. An associate professor must have a number of research publications of high standard and at the same time a higher degree such as M. Phil. or Ph.D. from any of the recognised universities. If a position is available, an associate professor can be awarded professorship only after the completion of some research works of a very high standard and on the recommendations of the experts both from within the university and without. In the universities in Bangladesh a professorship is awarded on the recommendations of recognized experts in political science, especially from the British or North-American universities. The political science graduates with average grades are offered teaching posts in the colleges, and there are more than 500 colleges in Bangladesh where political science is taught at the undergraduate level.

Some of the political scientists, having public administration background, however, have been appointed instructors in the public administration training institutions such as Civil Officers Training Academy (COTA), National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA), and Bangladesh Administrative Staff College (BASC).[18] but the number of such instructors is quite small. Some political scientists are also working in the research organizations such as the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) and Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), but these institutes absorb a very small number of them.

In fact, the job openings for political science graduates are quite limited. If they secure good grades they can expect teachership in schools and colleges; if they do very well and get higher degrees such as M. Phil. or Ph.D. they come to the universities. Otherwise in the highly competitive job market they compete with others for a limited number of jobs available either in private business organizations or in the banking sector or they settle down with odd jobs in government offices. Only a handful of them prepare themselves for the competitive examinations which are not regularly held in Bangladesh.

2. Educational Background

The educational background of the Bangladesh political scientists, who have been teaching in the universities, is quite impressive. They have not only been trained in the universities of Bangladesh but a large number of them have, in addition, also had training in the universities outside Bangladesh. Of the 71 political scientists now engaged in teaching in four universities, 10 of them (14%) did their M.A.s and 15 of them (21%) did their Ph.D.s in the universities overseas. Another 12 teachers, who are on study leave, are undergoing training in the universities of Australia, Canada, India, and the USA,[19] and they will join the Bangladesh universities on completion of their training programmes.

For imparting higher training in political science in the country M. Phil and Ph.D. Programmes have been introduced recently in three of the four universities, and at present ten students are working on M. Phil and nine others on Ph.D. programmes. It is expected that this programme would be made available to more students in the future.

3. Incentives and Mechanisms

In considering the incentives and mechanisms for research in political science we have to take a look at the socio-political environment and mechanisms of research. In Bangladesh, the socio-political environment has a "mixed impact – it works both as an incentive and as a disincentive" (Jahan, 1979). The environment of research is exciting in the sense that the researcher has to operate in a highly politicized milieu. Here politics has always been changeable, unpredictable and hence exciting, and a researcher working in such an environment is likely to feel not only a jerk of it but also a sense of emotional involvement. Moreover, a researcher quite easily gets a high social recognition in this society. But at the same time there are some negative forces which any researcher has to encounter at all stages. In fact, the level of restrictions on political freedom acts as a great disincentive in Bangladesh. During the last two decades or so Bangladesh has been under military regimes, with only limited periods of parliamentary democracy and political freedom. Even under civilian regimes there were restrictions on fundamental rights. For all these reasons, research on purely political issues has always been a risky proposition.

With regard to research mechanisms there are also certain advantages and inconveniences in Bangladesh. It is really heartening for a researcher to get research funds on the basis of "rather sketchy research proposals." The universities, the University Grants Commission (UGC), and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) are the three major sources of fund for university teachers. The University of Dacca has provided funding support to at least 10 cases; out of 250 research grants by the University Grants Commission during the period 1974-80, more than 40 grants have been availed of by political scientists.[20] The Social Science Research Council has also offered funding support to three political scientists during the period 1977-80. But while getting funds is easy, these institutions give a very small amount of research grants which varies from five thousand to thirty thousand taka a year. This little amount of money is not at all adequate for undertaking a large project or a survey research. That is why in most cases library research is undertaken.

The foreign foundations operating in Bangladesh such as Ford Foundation, Asia Foundation, USAID, SIDA, DANIDA, NORAD offer large research grants, but at the same time they determine the research priorities while offering the funding support. In case of other supporting mechanisms of research i.e. library facilities, computer assistance and good research assistants, there are genuine problems in Bangladesh. Because of the foreign exchange constraints, the universities cannot afford to buy the latest books or subscribe to many useful journals which are essential to research activity. Moreover, there is no facility for inter-university or inter-institutional loan service. Computer service, which is considered an very useful for large projects or survey research, is practically non-existent. There are, in fact, only three computers in the country: one belongs to the government, one to the Atomic Energy Commission, and the other to a bank. There are not many trained programmers and there is no canned programme such as the SPSS. The absence of computer facilities is thus, a big problem. Besides, getting a good research assistant is another big problem here, because a large number of students has not been exposed to research methodology until recently.

Free and open discussion with other researchers or faculty members about research problems may be quite stimulating, and many difficulties may be squared up that way. In Bangladesh, however, such free and open discussions are conspicuous by their absence. Moreover, Bangladesh political scientists are quite indifferent to collaborative efforts in the area of research. The examples of collaboration of the political scientists in research works are rare.[21] Because of this individualistic nature of the political scientists, though trained in the British and North-American

Universities, the corporate or professional activities have not blossomed forth in Bangladesh.

4. Professional Organization

Professional organization of the Bangladesh political scientists has always been weak. The Political Science Association of the University of Dacca was first formed on December 4, 1939 with a view to "promoting research into political theory, constitutional law, and constitutional history", yet it could not develop into a lively institution. The Political Science Association ceased to function after 1947 when its President D.N. Banerjee and Secretary A.B. Rudra left Dacca University. It was reviwed in 1952 and functioned as the Dacca University Political Science Association until 1970 when, thanks to the pioneering efforts of A.T.R. Rahman, it was transformed into East Pakistan Political Science Association with necessary modifications in its structure and functions.[22] A Seminar was also organized at that time and the leading political scientists participated.

The emergence of Bangladesh in 1971 and the difficult years that followed stood in the way of continued organizational activity. In 1974, it was revitalized and its Executive Committee was formed once again.[23] A Seminar was organized, and necessary preparations were made to make it work; but unfortunately it remained an organization on paper only and has not met in any conference or seminar since then. At the present time vigorous efforts are visible to transform it into a dynamic organization.

5. Political Science Journals

Publication of research papers has always been a big problem in Bangladesh; in fact, there is no professional journal of political science in the country. Encouragingly enough, the political scientists of Dacca, Chittagong and Jahangirnagar Universities have managed to publish their individual campus journals, though not regularly. In the University of Dacca, ***Rashtrabigyan Darpan*** [Mirror of Political Science] was published in 1976 as a yearly journal. It was followed up with another volume which was published in 1978. The teachers and students of political science department of the Chittagong University published its annual volume, ***Bangladesh Political Studies*** in 1978. The Jahangirnagar University also published its annual piece, ***The Asian Studies***, in 1979 and it was followed up with another volume in 1981.

Three journals, brought into being by individual initiative, published regularly since their inception, have however filled in the gap. ***Asian Affairs***, a quarterly journal, edited by Emajuddin Ahmed, is being published by Study Group from 1979. ***The Journal of Social Studies***, a quarterly journal, edited by Burhanuddin Khan Jahangir, is a publication of the Centre of Social Studies, ***Politics, Administration and Change***, a half yearly journal, edited by Mohabbat Khan and published by the Centre for Administrative Studies, is also a good journal. In addition, ***The Dacca University Studies***, and ***Dacca Biswavidyalaya Patrika*** [Dacca University Journal] and ***Rajshahi University Studies*** have also been helpful in publishing the research papers of the political scientists. ***Administrative Science Review***, a quarterly journal published by NIPA, Dacca, is also a good journal. The Bangladesh Institute of

International and Strategic Studies is also publishing a journal from 1980. These journals have provided enough opportunities to the young political scientists for publishing their writings. These journals, though none of these is meant exclusively for political science, have played a big role in the publication of research findings. The three journals. *Asian Affairs, The Journal of Social Studies,* and *Politics, Administration and Change,* edited by the three political scientists and published by three research centres, manned almost exclusively by political scientists, can be regarded as milestones in this area. Of the 82 articles published in these journals during the last three years, 70 of them (85%) were on different aspects of Bangladesh politics and administration, and on international relations and socio-political dimensions of development in Bangladesh.

6. Language in Teaching and Research

Language is another major problem both for teaching and research in political science. Bengali has been the medium of instruction at all levels from 1972, and at present more than 95 per cent of the students write their examinations in Bengali. The teachers teach in Bengali, though most of the text and reference books are in English. Students' comprehension of English being very poor these days, they find the courses of political science, especially the new courses, very difficult, and they fall back on the cheap and inaccurate note books. Most of the researchers, on the other hand, write in English for various reasons, and no tangible programme has yet been taken to write standard textbooks in Bengali.

Intermittent strikes and campus violence constitute another problem which makes teaching very difficult in the universities. One cannot effectively plan the time-table of courses. Moreover, the old examination system at the end of three years in B.A. (Hons.) has been substituted by the yearly course system. This system requires regular and intensive teaching, and that becomes very difficult because of strikes and campus violence.

7. Common Goals and Accepted Codes of Conduct

The political scientists of Bangladesh have some aspirations in common. Academic freedom, funding support for training and research, facility for publication, job opportunity and social recognition are some of them. They can get these aspirations fulfilled only through organized effort. Individual political scientists are networking, but only bilaterally, and in the process the enterprising ones are getting more than their dues; the rest are however isolated. With the organizational back-up the demands for funding support both for research and training can be made more effective; the questions of academic freedom and social recognition for the researchers and teachers can be made more poignant to the society; even attempts can be made to ensure international collaboration in different areas of research and training. Thus, in the absence of a strong organization, political scientists as a group have miserably failed to look after the proper role and status of the discipline. Compared to the economists, who have a powerful organization at home and institutional linkages abroad, the political scientists are ill-equipped and isolated, though their role may be more significant to the society.

V. AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE

What contributions the Bangladesh political scientists are likely to make to the society? How can they be prepared for that role? What can be done to meet the future requirements of the discipline in Bangladesh?

1. Political Scientist's Contribution to Society

Bangladesh political scientists can make, and in fact are making, substantial contributions to society through teaching and research. An academic profession, as we have already noted, can contribute to society by preserving, expanding and communicating knowledge and understanding. Teaching as such consists in the communication of knowledge and in that sense it is a part of the whole complex of scholarly activities. When academic work in respect of expansion of knowledge suffers, teaching itself degenerates into a dull and mechanical activity, having not much to contribute. That is why teaching and research should go together as the twin functions of this academic profession.

Judged from that perspective, both teaching and research in political science in the universities of Bangladesh should be revitalized. The existing gaps that are obvious should be filled in by bringing in necessary changes in the course contents and by assigning high priorities to certain areas which are of great national importance. We have already noted that the course contents of political science have changed considerably over time but even then there are certain areas which call for further changes. Bangladesh government and politics is one of the basic courses in the universities of Bangladesh, but such areas as the structures of rural institutions, functions of local bodies, the attitudes of political leaders and bureaucrats of local bodies, for instance, have not been properly integrated with the course and hence have long been de-emphasized.

Major foreign governments and politics of South and South-East Asia is another basic course, but in this course the students have not been motivated to penetrate deep into the working of such systems and find out their main dynamics so that they might compare them with those in their own society. The principles of political organization are taught mechanically, and the students are not made to ask why these principles work in the developed societies whereas they do not work here. Research methodology has been introduced as a major course in the universities of Bangladesh, but the students have not yet been inspired to undertake small scale empirical studies and write long essays or mini-these analyzing any aspect of social life.

Since the fifties of this century, research has developed into an important tool for determining public policy because research reveals the whole world of alternatives wherefrom the policy makers can choose and decide. The pace of development and social change is also determined by the extent of knowledge and information about a society, which are gathered systematically and with expertise. The complexities of social activities and the increasingly growing governmental intervention in the hitherto unknown region of the society therefore make the demand for research more and more pressing (see Breunse, 1980). Taken in this context, the contributions of Bangladesh political scientists seem to be quite insignificant both in quantity and quality. Probably this failure on the part of Bangladesh political scientists prompted Morris-Jones to comment:

> Confronted with a largely unexplored society, about which detailed, precise, reliable information, even of a basic kind, is unavailable, how can an intelligent corps of investigators prove on the whole to be so lacking in curiosity, so idle in the pursuit of their calling (Ibid : 50).

In the area of political and constitutional development, the contributions of Bangladesh political scientists have been just moderate. Some of the political institutions such as the *Jatiya Sangsad* and some political parties have been the foci of investigation by a number of political scientists. The politics of constitution-making in Bangladesh, the working of the parliamentary regime (and the constraints it had to grapple with), and the state and nation building activities during the early years have also been investigated into.[24] The area of local government and rural politics has been the object of continuing interests to a number of political scientists.[25] Bureaucracy and public administration has also received the attention of some leading political scientists, and they have focused on the nature of development administration in Bangladesh and the development orientation of Bangladesh bureaucrats.[26] The questions of foreign policy postulation, aid and development, foreign policy as an instrument of development have also been handled by some scholars.[27]

The level of performance of the political scientists is, however, far from satisfactory not only in respect of coverage but also in terms of quality. No major work has yet been undertaken, for example, to relate the political culture and social structure with the political system and its operation; no important work has come out on such key issues as the fragmentation of political parties in Bangladesh, relationship of political parties with bureaucracy, social bases of institutional stability and strength, social structure and democratic values, socialization process and political participation. The questions of national security for a small state like Bangladesh, foreign policy goals and economic development, aid and development still demand adequate investigation.

2. Some Proposals

Indeed there is much that is unsatisfactory in the present state of the discipline of political science in Bangladesh. The material and human resources, which are necessary for setting things right are, however, almost entirely available from within the country. What is required, in the words of Morris-Jones, "is primarily not outside aid but a home-grown effort of organization and leadership at several levels, an effort designed to mobilize and develope these resources" (Ibid : 41). Much will depend in this respect upon organization and leadership within the departments of political science in the universities. The role of the Chairman should be developed further and must be profitably used both in designing the courses and curriculum appropriate to the needs of the society and in developing the necessary skills in the staff for effectively handling those courses. Provisions should be made for more discussions about the course contents and preparation of teaching and research.

Staff seminars should be instituted and made regular features of the departmental work schedule, where both the methods of research works and findings should be exposed to discussion.

The two basic teaching methods, which are currently in use in the universities of Bangladesh, should be restructured. Lecture courses, which are generally related to subjects of examinations and are typically handled by the same teacher year by year, should be modified by introducing more optional courses for the students and by popularizing rotation of courses among teachers so that freshness and new blood are added to the whole scheme. Group tutorials should also be restructured, and by changing the evaluation pattern the students should be encouraged to participate in discussions, ask questions and exchange ideas with the teachers, at least in tutorials, if not in the general lecture classes. In the current method of teaching political science in the universities there is an excessive premium on memorization and a clear inhibition against intellectual curiosity and independent work on the part of the students; the students are generally not encouraged to undertake written works or any kind of field investigation, big or small. Provisions should be made, without further delay, for the deep involvement of the students by introducing the system of term paper or long essay or mini-thesis at the end of a term or a course. In short, the dull and mechanical method of teaching should be replaced by an invigorating, and work-oriented system which would motivate the students to have wider perspective in all areas of the discipline and to undertake work independently so that they can get a sense of performance after the completion of courses.

There are of course genuine problems in respect of standard text books in vernacular. The teachers teach in Bengali but most of the recommended books are in English. The student's comprehension of English being very poor, they generally fall back on cheap and inaccurate notebooks. This problem, however, is not a new one and it is not a peculiar problem for Bangladesh. In Bangladesh, it has rather been easier because some competent teachers have already written standard text books in Bengali for the undergraduate students. The Bangla Academy has also published a number of books in vernacular. What is required in this respect is a well-thought out and co-ordinated programme to be undertaken in phases, by the universities, in cooperation with the political science departments, a programme for writing textbooks and translating important reference books by competent scholars through the introduction of liberal reward systems.

In this matter the University of Dacca, being the oldest and the biggest in the country, should play the co-ordinating role. The Bangladesh Political Science Association, which is almost defunct now, should also be revitalized and transformed into a dynamic organization. It should function as a forum where the political scientists of the country can moot their difficulties and arrive at a consensus. If the libraries of the universities are forced to stop buying all the necessary books or cancel subscriptions to important journals due to shortage of foreign exchange, at least one or two of the libraries, selected by the Political Science Association, can buy such books and journals and serve the others through inter-library or inter-institution loan service or even by distributing photo-copies of articles published in journals.

Specific allocation of fund for research works is a recent phenomenon, and generally small sums of money are allocated to specific research proposals either by the universities or by the University Grants Commission or by the Social Science Research Council. That creates a lot of difficulties because no big work can be done with that. These difficulties can also be met by co-ordinating the areas of research, submitting inter-related proposals and pooling the resources allocated to individual proposals. The Bangladesh Political Science Association can play a big role here.

To meet the future requirements of the discipline of political science in Bangladesh, the political scientists should have a completely new attitude to their profession, to their clientele groups and to their own role. Steps should be taken to provide adequate facilities for the training of political scientists in Bangladesh universities by instituting more M. Phil. and Ph.D. programmes and by subjecting the young scholars to more rigorous course works and vigorous training in methodology. It may not be possible to cover all areas at a time, but gradually all the areas can be covered by pooling the supervisory resources together from all the universities, if necessary. In this respect, too, the University of Dacca may play a pioneering role.

There is a need for a radical re-structuring of the whole system of recognition and rewards in the universities; the "sanctity" of foreign doctorate should be reduced; any good work, any home-grown research, must be awarded due recognition and reward. If necessary, the political science departments of Bangladesh universities may ask for "foreign aid" in the form of more scholarships, more visiting fellowship and funding support for research projects. These scholarships should, however, be for shorter courses on research methods, and not for longer courses leading to Ph.D.s. Sometimes leading political scientists from abroad should be invited on lecture tours or seminars.

3. Political Scientists' Role in Policy-Making

The political scientists should be aware of the role they can play in illuminating and formulating policies towards the resolution of major national and international problems their society is confronted with. It is not expected that the suggestion they would put forward or the findings they would come up with would be accepted by the policy makers in toto, but it is confidently believed that if the political scientists, through their research, can bring out a series of alternatives, the policy makers can weigh, assess and receive what they should. Policy makers everywhere wish to execute a policy that is based as much as possible on scientific knowledge while the political scientists are supposed to analyze problems scientifically from different perspectives. Naturally, that is an excellent basis for harmonious co-operation between the practitioners and researchers.

Bangladesh still now being a largely unexplored society, policy makers here make their choices from the elementary information gleaned casually from indifferent sources. Normally, they do not get any field which is full of plenty of information, deeply investigated into and adequately analyzed. It indicates that Bangladesh political scientists can make substantial contributions. There is an agreement, for instance, that the administrative system in Bangladesh should be development-oriented; but both the practitioners and scholars disagree as to what should be done to make the administrative system development-oriented. How can it be made action-oriented? What structural reorganizations are necessary to meet the functional requisites of development administration? What kind of orientations the bureaucrats should have? What kind of training should be evolved? How decentralization can be effected? How the team-spirit can be fostered among the bureaucrats? How local level inputs can be secured in the policy-making units? How popular participation can be ensured? All these questions demand careful investigation. The political scientists can throw light on such grey zones, clear the fog of confusion and register their presence in the formulation of policies by their inquiry and analysis.

They can also make substantial contributions in the handling of certain international issues. Being a small and developing country, Bangladesh can afford to administer a kind of foreign policy which can procure more friends, more fund for developmental activities, adequate national security and less involvement in international conflicts. But the ramifications of each of these stances are so varied and so complex that it becomes very difficult to have a clear direction. Policy-makers may pretend to be know-alls, but the fact remains that such vital areas of national life should not be left to them. The policy makers should be adequately tutored; that can be done by revealing the alternative policy-options with their cost-benefit analyses, normative-empirical balances and overall implications both in the economy and polity.

All these will depend, however, on the proficiency and competence of the political scientists as a group, on the level of their performance and on the quality of their research findings. Bangladesh political scientists have so long followed the established and fashionable methodology of the time and have not tried, in a big way, to devise their own questions and methods which might have lent respectability to their profession and accuracy to their findings. Perhaps that is one of the major reasons why the political scientists have not yet been able to sharpen public discussion on any national issue during the last ten years after independence, and have remained largely marginal in the national academic scene. If they are determined to salvage their positions they have, first of all, to set their house in order and then they can proceed to earn love and laurels.

NOTES

[1] When asked why this department was instituted, Abdur Razzaq, now a national professor in Bangladesh and then the junior-most Lecturer in the department, replied that it had been organized not only to meet the growing demands of students but also to provide an opportunity to D.N. Banerjee for further promotion in the new department since his colleague, H.L. Dey, became a professor of political economy of which D.N. Banerjee was also an aspirant.

[2] At the time of inception the department of political science comprised the following teachers:

D.N. Banerjee, M.A. (Calcutta), an associate professor.

A.K. Sen, M.A. (Calcutta), an assistant professor.

A.K. Ghoshal, M.A. (Calcutta), a lecturer.

A.B. Rudra, M.A. (Dacca), Ph.D. (London), a lecturer

M.N. Roy, M.A. (Dacca), a lecturer.

A. Razzaq, M.A. (Dacca), a lecturer.

[3] In 1948-49 and 1958-59, for instance, the number of students studying political science was 550 and 678 respectively. See *Annual Reports* for 1948-49 through 1958-59.

[4] A larger number of students began to specialize in political science in the universities of Bangladesh for several reasons. First, unlike economics, political science does not require any special skill or mastery over other subjects such as mathematics or statistics, and the students can master political science courses without undergoing much academic rigour; second, the course contents of political science do not change very much over time. Third, political science has begun to encompass such areas of study as public administration, political sociology or international politics which have been quite fascinating to the students. Fourth, the study of political science has been quite useful to those who like to appear at the competitive examinations for the recruitment of civil servants.

[5] The University of Dacca, situated in the metropolitan city of Dhaka, was established in 1921 under the Government of India Act XVIII of 1920 as a unitary teaching and residential university with a constitution similar in many respect to those of the contemporary English universities. After 1947 its character was changed and it became both a teaching and affiliating body. In the 36 departments and 6 institutes of this university, there are at the moment 849 teachers and more than 17,000 students. This university has 170 affiliated and constituent colleges.

[6] The Rajshahi University was founded in July 1, 1953. Its campus is little more than 5 miles away from the divisional city of Rajshahi. In the 27 departments there are 425 teachers and more than 10,000 students. There are 122 colleges affiliated to it.

[7] The University of Chittagong was established in 1966 by the Chittagong University Ordinance 1966. It is located at 12 miles north of Chittagong Port City. In the 22 departments of the university there are 354 teachers and more than 6,500 students. There are 80 colleges affiliated to it.

[8] The Jahangirnagar University was founded in 1970 as a unitary teaching and residential university. It is located at Savar which is 19 miles away from Dhaka City. In the 10 departments of the University, there are 150 teachers and more than 1500 students.

[9] There are 14 colleges in Bangladesh where honours courses are taught and in two of them both honours and M.A. courses are taught. These colleges are known as University colleges.

[10] Compiled from the *Syllabuses of Political Science* of the Universities of Dacca, Chittagong, Rajshahi and Jahangirnagar for B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. courses for the session 1980-81.

[11] Abdur Razzaq, a national Professor and the senior most political scientist of Bangladesh and late Professors M.A. Chaudhuri and Hasan Zaman were trained in the London School of Economics (LSE). Najma Chowdhury is also an LSE product. M. Rashiduzzaman, Najmul Abedin, Shamsul Huda Haroon and B.K. Jahangir received their training in Durham whereas Ali Ahmed was trained in Bristol, Azizul Haque, in Nottingham and Mulkutur Rahman, in Wales.

[12] A number of political scientists went to the American and Canadian universities in the late sixties and early seventies for training and higher degrees. The impact of such training on the status of political science in Bangladesh has been quite impressive. Talukder Maniruzzaman, Emajuddin Ahamed, Sayefullah Bhuiya, Golam Morshed received training at Queen's; Rounaq Jahan, at Harvard; M. Anisuzzaman and S.M. Ali, at Syracuse; A.N.M. Shamsul Haque and A.T.R. Rahman, at Duke; Mohabbat Khan, at Southern California and Ataur Rahman, at the University of Chicago.

[13] An examination has its written and oral part or viva voce.

[14] University of Dacca, *Syllabuses for B.A. (Hons.) and M.A. Courses for* the Session 1938-39, 1939.

[15] Honzooruddin Ahmed left the University of Dacca in 1952. A.K. Nazmul Karim became the Head of the Department of Sociology when it was set up in the University of Dacca in 1956. He is a Professor of Sociology now; be devoted himself to analyzing social problems as a sociologist since then.

[16] In his early writings such as *Constitutional Development in Pakistan,* New York: 1959; *Democracy in Pakistan,* Dacca: 1963; *Documents and speeches of the Constitution of Pakistan,* Dacca : 1967, he focused mainly on Political Development in Pakistan; but when Pakistan broke up in 1971 he began to analyze the distintegration of Pakistan not only in terms of internal happenings but also in terms of external variables. *The Last Days of United Pakistan,* London: 1974; *Bangladesh and Major Powers: Politics of a Divided Sub-Continent,* New York: 1975; *Brezhnev's Collective Security Plan and Asia,* Georgetown: 1976 reflect his interest in international relation's impinging on the political systems in South Asia.

[17] G.W. Choudhury was appointed Director-General (Research) at the Pakistan Foreign Ministry for a period in the late sixties. Ali Ahmed also worked in the Pakistan Administrative Staff College in 1970; currently he is associated with the Bangladesh Administrative Staff College. M.A. Choudhuri was the Chairman of the Administrative and Services Reorganization Committee in 1972.

[18] The Principal of the Civil Officers Training Academy and the Director General of the National Institute of Public Administration at the moment are political scientists who joined the Civil Services.

[19] It is already noted that Bangladesh political scientists had their initial contacts with the British universities; They began to go to the North American-universities in larger numbers only from the early sixties. At present, quite a few of them are in the Indian and Australian universities.

[20] This information was received from the University Grants Commission, Dacca.

[21] A.T.R. Rahman has co-authored a book with Zillur Rahman Khan in 1973 – *The Autonomy and Constitution-Making: The Case of Bangladesh,* Dacca: 1973. Mention may also be made of Emajuddin Ahmed and Mohabbat Khan jointly conducting a research on *The Parliamentary Election 1979.*

[22] Professor Abdur Razzaq and A.T.R. Rahman were elected President and General Secretary of the Association respectively.

[23] In 1974 Professor M.A. Choudhuri and Talukdar Maniruzzaman were elected President and General Secretary respectively.

[24] See, for instance, eight articles written by the leading political scientists of Bangladesh on various aspects of Bangladesh politics in Emajuddin Ahamed, ed., *Bangladesh Politics,* Dacca : Centre for Social Studies, 1980.

[25] See M.H. Khan and H.M. Zafarullah Khan, eds., *Rural Development in Bangladesh,* Dacca: Centre for Administrative Studies, 1981. It contains nine articles written on different aspects of local government and rural politics in Bangladesh.

[26] See, for instance, M.M. Khan and H.M. Zafarullah, eds., *Politics and Bureaucracy in a New Nation: Bangladesh,* Dacca: Centre for Administrative Studies, 1980; Emajuddin Ahamed, *Bangladesh: Development Administration,* Centre for Administrative Studies, 1981; Md. Anisuzzaman, ed., *Bangladesh Lok Proshasan* (Public Administration in Bangladesh), Dacca: Centre for Social Studies, 1982.

[27] Nazmul Ahsan and Moududur Rahman Safdar, *Social Studies Index,* Dacca: Centre for Administrative Studies, 1981; see also *Asian Affairs,* Vols. II & III, 1980, 1981.

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TEN

AUSTRALIA: *Don Aitkin*

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN AUSTRALIA

1. A Brief History

Political science in Australia, as in most other countries, is best thought of as a scholarly development of the years after the second world war. There were earlier beginnings, but these were for the most part spasmodic. The first person to hold a university post in the subject, or something akin to it, was William Hearn, who took up a Professorship in History and Political Economy at the University of Melbourne in 1854. Although Hearn was responsible for a well-regarded book on *The Government of England,* published in 1867 (the year also of Bagehot's *The English Constitution* as well as Marx's *Capital)* no tradition of political science as a university discipline developed at Melbourne, or indeed at any other Australian university, in the 19th century. If students learned anything of politics and government they did so incidentally, in the course of studying law, philosophy or history.

The new century brought some new initiatives. Tutorial programmes offered by the University of Sydney early in the century included 'public administration' as a course. After the first world war students in law and arts at the University of Melbourne could undertake courses called 'Modern Political Institutions' and 'Modern Political Ideas', while 'political science' appeared in 1919 as a course title (in constitutional history) at the University of Queensland. In 1920, similar development took place in the University of Tasmania; in 1924, at the University of Western Australia. Ten years later a chair and department of 'Political Science and History' were established at the University of Adelaide; but political science was offered as a course only in alternate years – the department was essentially a department of history.

These hesitant innovations reflected the extent to which Australian universities modelled themselves on their counterparts in Great Britain, where political science was also struggling to escape from the traditional arts disciplines, rather than on universities in the United States of America, where political science was already well established as a social science, and where the American Political Science Association, founded in 1903, was decades old. But two distinctively Australian initiatives occurred in the 1930s.

The first, discussed more fully in a later section, was the establishment in Sydney in 1932 of the Australian Institute of Political Science. The Institute, which brought together politicians, public servants, academics and those of the lay public interested in political issues, took over an existing magazine devoted to these matters, *The Australian Quarterly,* and began to organise annual Summer Schools to discuss issues of the moment. These Schools have continued to the present, and often gain considerable attention from the news media.

The second was the establishment in 1934 of a Department of Public Administration at the University of Sydney with F.A. Bland as first Professor. Bland had been teaching this subject at the University since 1914, had wide experience as a consultant to governments, and was a fluent publicist for his subject and his own views on the structure and output of government in Australia. The pragmatic and practical emphasis of Bland's department matched the interests of the Institute (to whose journal Bland was a frequent contributor); nearly half a century later the early thrust can still be seen in the department's title 'Government and Public Administration', and in the continuing availability of a strong sub-discipline of public administration, probably the best in Australia.

But that is to jump ahead. When the second world war curtailed all university expansion the University of Melbourne had a newly created Department of Political Science and there had been some development of the subject in other Australian universities. After the war expansion resumed, and separate departments, or at least named chairs, were set up: Canberra University College (1949), Queensland (1949), Adelaide (1951) and Tasmania (1956). Departments of International Relations (1949) and of Political Science (1951) were established in the Australian National University, a postgraduate institution established in Canberra in 1946 in part to bring back to their own country many Australian scholars and scientists who had won fame abroad.

Towards the end of the 1950s there occurred a dramatic increase in the size of the tertiary sector in Australian education, made possible by the increasing affluence of the nation and prompted by a 'post-sputnik' anxiety that the United States and its allies were falling behind the Soviet Union in the production of university-trained people. Established universities entered a new phase of rapid growth, and new universities were progressively set up, so that by the mid-1970s there were 19 universities compared to seven in the mid-1950s. All but six possessed departments or disciplines of political science, and in three of those six (Murdoch, Griffith, and Deakin) the subject appeared in other guises – for example, as a component of an area study, or of one or more cross-disciplinary endeavours. In the final three (Newcastle, Wollongong, and James Cook) there is some political theory taught in departments of philosophy or history. A 'second tier' of tertiary institutions – the colleges of advanced education – had appeared in the 1960s and 1970s. There were several dozen of these colleges (some were facing the prospect of merger with each other, or incorporation within universities, in the more financially strained Australia of 1982), and 32 of them offered political science in 1977.

The numbers of staff and students offer some guide to the expansion of these years. In 1937, there were certainly no more than a dozen university staff whose principal function was teaching and research in political science. Twenty years later there were nearly 40; 40 years later there were nearly 300.[1] Students could be numbered by the dozen in pre-war years. But by 1957 there were more than 1,000 undergraduates, by 1961 more than 2,000, and by 1977-78 more than

10,000.[2] Political science is now a major social science subject in every university where there is a department professing it. The colleges of advanced education have an emphasis on applied and vocational study, and political science sits less comfortably in college course-offerings than does, say, accountancy. Nonetheless, in 1973-74 there were nearly 60 college teachers of the subject, and 5,400 students taking some politics in the course of their college studies.[3]

Relative to other comparable disciplines, the expansion of political science in these years was striking. In the 30 years since 1950 the numbers of political science academics increased nine times, those of mathematics by seven, of history by six, and of economics by two-and-a-half. Of course, the different rates of growth had to do with the starting points, for history, economics and mathematics were well established in 1950, and political science was not. Nonetheless, in 1981 political science was about half the size of economics and two-thirds the size of history – and it was more than twice as large as sociology, an even later arrival in the academic world.[4]

Women have not been numerous in the political science profession. A 1979 count showed that 14 per cent of all tenurable positions in universities or colleges were held by women (compared to 9.5 per cent in the USA and 7 per cent in New Zealand) and that women were concentrated in the lower grades (Marian Sawer, 1980). The lack of expansion in the tertiary education system means that the Australian proportions are unlikely to change quickly. Male and female *students,* on the other hand, seem to be in about equal proportion, even at the Honours level, though there is still a male preponderance among graduate students.

2. The Subject Matter of Political Science

Three factors helped to determine the shape of political science in Australia as it developed before and after the second world war. The first was the strong link between intellectual life in Australia and that in Britain, the second the lack of published scholarly studies of Australian political history, institutions and behaviour, the third the relative dominance of law, history and philosophy in the universities, at least on the Arts side. Very many academic staff had done some or all of their university training in Britain or had visited British universities on leave, and the link with Britain meant that British ways of approaching questions of politics and government were most influential. Of course, Australian government itself was modelled on that of Britain, with some important departures. The lack of published Australian studies pushed the early political scientists into using contemporary material – newspapers, magazines, court reports, and the like – and into studying the problems of contemporary government in a pragmatic way, an emphasis which was in any case in harmony with the Australian intellectual approach generally. The dominance of history, law and philosophy meant that political science grew out from these established domains. Economics was a small and struggling enterprise, psychology even less developed; sociology hardly existed.

The net consequence was that early political science courses looked at the British antecedents to Australian government (something historians and lawyers had been doing in their own ways in 'constitutional development' courses), and at the contemporary (meaning 'twentieth-century') problems of Australian government. The latter included such non-British phenomena as federalism and industrial arbitration, about which there were enough published books to form the basis for a reading list, and such local pre-occupations as 'Australia in the world of nations', about which there were not.

By 1954, when full-time teaching staff numbered just 22 for the whole country, there had developed something like a standard political science sequence in the five universities which offered courses in each of the three undergraduate years.[5] In first year students received an 'introduction to politics' along with an analysis of British and Australian government. 'The introduction varies in character', wrote R.N. Spann at the time, 'but everywhere seems to include some discussion of the nature and vocabulary of politics, democratic theory, and the sources and character of political power'. In their second year, they were likely to focus on comparative government, especially of the USA and the USSR. The lectures dealt separately with each country, and were not set in any theory of comparative politics – that was for the 1960s and 1970s. Third year courses varied widely. Since few students went on to a third year (only 11 per cent of 1957 political science enrolments were in third year[6]) courses could be provided out of the special interests and personal libraries of staff members. World politics or international relations was a favourite offering, as was political theory or political thought; others were political sociology, public administration, and the state and economic life. The textbooks used were British or American: there were a few Australian textbooks by 1955, but all dealt with aspects of Australian politics.

Australian universities generally distinguish 'pass' from 'honours' students, the latter undertaking all or most of the pass subjects as well as extra undergraduate courses in their chosen discipline, plus a fourth year of exclusive study in it. It is the successful Honours students who go on to postgraduate work. In the mid-1950s Honours students took more political theory courses in their first three years, and in their Honours year wrote a small thesis (10,000 – 15,000 words) as well as taking two or three further courses. That pattern has persisted to the present, with minor variations from university to university.

The expansion of the university system after 1957 had a number of effects. First, departments of political science grew at an unprecedented rate, bringing into the discipline staff from the USA and from other countries, as well as an increasing number of Australians trained overseas or in Australia itself. Second, the growth of departments led to an expansion of courses and to a change in the structure of the university year to accommodate that expansion; half-year courses which a single staff member taught and examined made more sense (especially to staff members) than a full-year course to which many contributed and for which few felt responsible. Third, with expansion and fragmentation came a growing anxiety about the coherence of political science programmes – and indeed, of Arts or social science degrees generally.

Although a conference of political scientists in Canberra in 1957 was generally in agreement about the proper structure of a political science programme[7] (as the above description of such programmes implies), a similar conference in 1973 had no such certainty. By 1973, of course, the subject itself had grown enormously. There were now dozens of specialisms, and a few hundred specialist journals. In a big department it was entirely possible for two members of staff ostensibly in the same discipline to have little common ground on which to discuss disciplinary issues. In all of this Australia was like any other country where political science had become a successful and even fashionable university subject; and political science was no different to economics, psychology or sociology. In the late-1970s search for the 'essential' elements of their subject, a largely informal process which took place in departmental meetings, academic conferences and private discussions, Australian political scientists were doing what their counterparts were doing elsewhere in the Western world.

3. Undergraduate Political Science Courses in 1982

The teaching of political science in Australia has always operated under constraints. One is that students need a good command of history in order to appreciate some of the problems of the discipline. Another is that, with the exception of the State of Victoria, the Australian secondary school system has not made the study of politics and government part of the curriculum, so that students have to be taught the elements of Australian government and politics almost at once. A third is that much of the Australian governmental system is derivative, so that students need some knowledge of British history in order to appreciate the system of responsible parliamentary government and of American history in order to appreciate federalism and the Constitution. There are not, as teachers can be heard to lament, enough hours in the day. All political science programmes are compromises, and most teachers are dissatisified with them most of the time.

Since the conference of teachers of political science in 1957 the range of courses offered by Australian departments of political science has grown widely. But, just as in 1957, there are some common features which point to a shared understanding, however implicit, of what political science in Australia ought to concern itself with. Of the 13 departments of political science already mentioned, all in 1982 offered courses in Australian politics and in political theory, while all but one or two (not the same one or two) offered courses in the politics of developing countries, in international relations, in one or other aspect of political sociology, in public administration and public policy, and in the politics of one or more of Australia's regional neighbours, especially Japan, China, Indonesia and the countries of ASEAN. Most also offered courses in which the political systems of the USA and the USSR were compared.

Missing from these programmes are courses on constitutional law or administrative law (here departments of law have held on to their own), or on local government (which in Australia is very much a subsidiary level), or on race and ethnicity (the province of anthropology and sociology). And there is hardly any teaching about the politics of specific African or Middle Eastern or American nations, the USA excepted; European political systems receive only slightly greater attention, and even Great Britain has begun to diminish in importance for Australian political science, just as it has more generally in matters of trade and foreign relations. The concentration of contemporary Australian political science is firmly on its part of the world and on those aspects of political theory appropriate to that. Moreover, it is neither theoretical nor quantitative in its attack: apart from an interest in the statistics appropriate to election studies, Australian political science has avoided mathematical approaches almost completely.

While the fragmentation of undergraduate teaching already referred to makes it likely that many students who major in political science will receive a disjointed account even of these parts of the subject, it is possible to provide a general outline of a typical undergraduate progression.[8] The first year has two halves, the first dealing with an introduction to or an overview of the subject, the second a plunge into the elements of Australian government and politics. In the second year students are confronted with a range of options from among the broad categories detailed above; most courses are a semester long. In the third year there will be more such semester options, the exact mix of options depending on the availability of staff. Public administration and public policy are more likely to be offered in third year than in second year, as are 'advanced' studies of topics already begun in the second year. Some universities make little distinction in practice between the second and third years, and certainly it is difficult to establish either that one political science course is intrinsically 'harder' than another, or that one ought to be completed before another in commenced. In consequence the set of courses that a typical student majoring in political science will count towards his or her degree is more like a buffet meal than a formal banquet, a matter which concerns those teachers who have a firm sense of the unity of this subject.

Students intending to take the Honours year will be doing a greater number of courses, and in their case more attention will be paid to ensuring that the student has covered the major areas of the discipline. A typical political science pass 'major' represents rather more than a third of the whole three-year degree: an Honours student, by contrast, will have devoted something like two-thirds of a *four*-year degree to political science. It is understandable that teachers tend to regard the Honours group as the 'real' students.

4. Emphases and Influences

It will be clear from the foregoing that Australian universities accepted political science as a new but legitimate subject in a new area called 'the social sciences'. For the most part the subject lodged in Arts; where Faculties of Economics existed political science lived there, or in both Arts and Economics. It took one of three names – 'Politics', 'Political Science' or 'Government' – and the choice of name owed in most cases to the preference of a now-forgotten committee at the time of the decision to establish the department or chair. Once established, the names stuck, and did not signify different approaches to the subject. Despite the great distances which separate the major cities in Australia, the country's universities are very similar in structure, some new creations excepted. It has been national policy since the mid-1950s that the universities should have common standards, and they are funded (and staff paid) via a national government body, the Tertiary Education Commission. Not only that, but academic ranks and the salary scales pertaining to them are virtually identical from one university to another, despite the fact that each university is formally an independent statutory corporation. These common conditions encourage the mobility of academic staff (or did, when universities were expanding), and mean that political science courses tend to resemble one another, even when the universities are thousands of kilometres apart.

Nor would these courses be seen as very different to those offered in comparable universities in Britain or the United States of America. Late-twentieth-century political science is an international discipline, and since the great majority of political scientists live and work in the USA, and have always done so (though the preponderance is smaller now than 30 years ago) it is an international discipline with an American bias.

The 'foreign' nature of the subject has caused few problems in Australia. Australia is itself a society many of whose political institutions were modelled on those in other lands, and one that has been formed by immigrants – originally from the British Isles but more recently from other parts of Europe and from Asia. Political science had no combat with an indigenous tradition of political thought. Rather, it adapted well to certain habits of mind which are recognisably, though not exclusively, Australian. One is an emphasis on the empirical, on seeking knowledge through the solving of particular problems, and via the accumulation of data. Another is the tendency to see government in instrumental terms – it is there to do things for the citizen. A third is a long-standing democratic assumption that some sort of political equality represents the natural order of things. These three phenomena combine to affect the political science that is taught, and the scholarly output of political scientists themselves. Political theory, for example, remains the poor relation of empirical studies. There has been considerable research on parties, elections, bureaucracy, interest groups and political behaviour. But there has not been much interest in fundamental constitution-making: parliament, the federal system, legal institutions and the like; these are assumed to be given, or taken to be the province of lawyers.[9]

The 'schools of thought' in Australian political science are largely accidental, and mostly the product of the gathering together in departments of like-minded or similarly-trained people. Indeed, because of the past mobility of Australian academics and the similarity of the universities, schools of thought can and do survive without a common work environment -- through newsletters, the circulation of manuscripts, and the annual conferences or meetings which are characteristic elements of Australian academic life.[10]

Nonetheless, one can point to important intellectual influences on Australian political science. Many of those who taught and undertook research in international relations had studied at the London School of Economics and Political Science and shared common assumptions about the object and methods of that study, which they passed on in their turn to their own students. Many of those interested in Indonesian politics have spent some time at Cornell University. Long-standing links between the Australian National University's Research School of Social Sciences and the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan have had a profound and continuing effect upon the Australian study of political behaviour. Australian Marxians, inheritors of a century-old tradition of radical political thought in Australia, were nonetheless quick to take up insights from the resurgence of Marxian writing in Europe in the 1970s. And the fact of similar institutions as objects for study, as well as a common professional association (the Royal Institute of Public Administration),[11] meant that Australian students of public administration were very much affected by the work of their British counterparts. Finally, the fact that such a high proportion of political scientists at work in Australia received some or all of their training at universities in the USA or Great Britain has meant that Australian political science has remained in the mainstream of the discipline. This has been assisted by the Australian institution of 'sabbatical leave', which until the late-1970s provided one year's paid leave every seven years for Australian academics to travel overseas (now, on average, six months' leave); most political scientists spend their time at the better American and British universities.

5. Political Science and the Social Sciences

Another consequence of the spectacular growth in the social sciences after the second world war was the hardening of the disciplinary boundaries between them. At one level this was simply a function of size: each social science had enough difficulty in maintaining internal coherence to worry overmuch about the coherence of social science itself. At another level it was a function of university structure: relatively autonomous departments advancing the interests of single disciplines are not the best places to emphasise the integration of a group of disciplines. At all events, by 1981 the various social sciences were more remarkable for their separateness than for their linkages (no doubt the same could be said of the natural sciences).

In the older universities the separation was more or less complete. Economics students might be required to complete courses in government (as was the case in the University of Sydney), but inter-disciplinary courses at the boundaries of economics and politics were very rare. This was true even where disciplines were placed together in specific schools, as at Monash University (Economics and Political Science) or Macquarie University (History, Philosophy and Politics). Dissatisfaction with the 'apolitical' nature of conventional economics has led to the establishment of a 'political economy' strand, more or less Marxist in emphasis, within the Faculty of Economics at Sydney University. So far, there have been very few signs of dissatisfaction with the lack of economics in political science, though a proposal by political scientists to offer a course called 'political economy' at Macquarie University was doggedly resisted by the economists.[13]

Contact with the other social sciences has been more polite, though hardly more productive of inter-disciplinary endeavour. The Melbourne Department of Political Science has worked at the boundaries of political science, sociology and social psychology for some years, but this has reflected the intellectual interests of staff members and not a cross-departmental initiative (the Melbourne department's concentration in this area qualifies it, almost alone of Australian departments, as possessing a 'school of thought'). Because of sociology's late arrival many departments of political science had already appropriated 'political sociology', while anthropology had appropriated much else. In earlier days, as has been remarked on already, history and philosophy in particular had marked out territory in political science, and managed to hang on to some of it thereafter.

The most recently created universities have been designed to allow for more purposeful inter-disciplinary teaching and research than was true of the older creations, and this trend reflects a world-wide concern that intensified during the 1970s about the need for breaking down disciplinary barriers. The new foundations of the Flinders University of South Australia (1966) and Macquarie University (1967) moved a little way in this direction by grouping disciplines in appropriate but 'disciplinary' schools such as 'social sciences' or 'behavioural sciences', in the hope that propinquity would lead to cross-disciplinary activity. The universities of the 1970s went a step further.

Murdoch University (1973) placed political science in a School of Social Inquiry, where it is described as 'Social and Political Theory'. Most courses have a theoretical, even critical, emphasis which tends to be lacking elsewhere; thus even the obligatory Australian politics course is entitled 'The Political Economy of Australia'. There is no chair of political science, or even of social and political theory, but since there are named chairs in history, economics and psychology this lack is likely to be remedied in time.

In Deakin University (1974) there is a 'political area' in the School of Social Sciences, in which students can undertake a major sequence. But there are also political science courses in the School of Management and in an inter-disciplinary programme of 'Australian Studies', and students are encouraged to build their degrees in a cross-disciplinary fashion.

Griffith University (1971) has gone furthest along this path. The calendar states that 'while single-disciplinary approaches have developed valuable tools and insights, most real-world problems are not capable of solution by such approaches . . . it is increasingly necessary to cross disciplinary boundaries in the search for solutions to problems'.[13] In harmony with this approach, the social science disciplines are harnessed to other needs. There is a Core Course called 'Political Science' in the School of Modern Asian Studies, and students combine the study of one or more Asian languages with courses like 'Politics, Foreign Policy and Society in Contemporary Japan', or 'Marxism in Asia', or 'Political Problems in Modern Asia'. The School of Australian Environment Studies provides courses called 'Global Political Ecology' and 'Political and Economic Environment', while the School of Social and Industrial Administration offers 'Australian Labour Relations' and 'Contemporary Socio-Economic Problems in Australia'. Even the School of Science has one: 'Marxism and Science'. The School of Humanities provides more familiarly titled political-science courses, but students can also take 'Media and Ideology', 'Film and politics', or 'The Politics of Progress'.

It is too early to say whether these inter-disciplinary (some would say *anti*-disciplinary) structures will succeed in producing graduates whose other skills and knowledge outweigh their lack of training in this or that area of political science. The fact is that the majority of Australian universities are determinedly 'disciplinary' both in structure and behaviour, and attempts to change either tend to be resisted.

II. MAJOR TRENDS IN POSTGRADUATE TEACHING AND RESEARCH

1. The Development of Postgraduate teaching

Before the second world war only a tiny minority of university students went on to postgraduate research, and they fell into one of three groups. The first travelled abroad, mostly to Oxford or Cambridge. The second pursued academic careers at home, in the course of which they wrote books or did scientific research which in time qualified them for one of the senior doctorates, the D. Sc (science), LID (law) or D. Litt. (letters). The third group, again in pursuing careers perhaps in school teaching, completed theses or passed examinations entitling them to Masters' degrees – M.Sc (science), MA (arts) or M.Ec (economics). The doctorate of philosophy, the Ph.D, now almost the *sine qua non* of tenured academic appointment, did not exist at some universities.

This state of affairs changed rapidly after the war. The establishment of the Australian National University provided a first-class research institution in Australia which became the training-ground for scientists and academics. By the early 1960s there were several hundred postgraduate students at ANU, and the University was producing 85 per cent of the Ph.Ds trained in the country. This position of dominance changed in the next 20 years as the other universities rapidly enlarged or created their own postgraduate systems, and by 1981 ANU was producing only 15 per cent of the Ph.Ds.

Basic to the growth of postgraduate training was a system of Commonwealth Postgraduate Scholarships, first introduced in 1959, that provided full-time graduate research towards higher degrees for several hundred new students every year. The ANU made similar financial provision for its own students from the beginning, and shared in the Commonwealth scheme when that was established. The universities also provided opportunities for staff, especially for junior staff (tutors and demonstrators) to undertake research for higher degrees, and scores of academics gained their Ph.Ds in this way. A much smaller provision of scholarships to do research in overseas universities (mostly in Britain and the countries of the British Commonwealth) has allowed a small number of very good students to gain overseas experience.

Political science benefited as much as any discipline from these initiatives. The ANU's research Departments of Political Science and International Relations alone have produced some 70 Ph.Ds since the early 1950s[14], and most of their graduates have pursued academic careers in Australia. An important proportion of the other universities' academic staff have completed Ph.Ds in the course of their employment, a process that can take seven or eight years. Since colleges of advanced education do not normally offer higher degrees (and none offers the Ph.D.), that possibility is not open to college staff, who are on the whole less well qualified than those at university.

The Australian Ph.D, like the British, essentially involves the writing of a dissertation which has to be original, substantial and a genuine contribution to knowledge in the discipline. There is no requirement for the completion of a certain amount to coursework, as is typical in the United States of America. The assumption is that graduate students will have had sufficient exposure to the discipline in the course of their undergraduate and Honours years. This is not always a sound assumption, and in any case the jump from the Honours sub-thesis to the doctoral dissertation is in every way a very large one. Many students who embark on doctoral programmes eventually abandon them; only in the ANU's Institute of Advanced Studies, where research and postgraduate study are the *raison d'être,* do the majority of doctoral students finish their studies successfully — and in the expected three to four years.

The establishment of the Ph.D effectively degraded the MA, which now serves two purposes. For Honours students who have not gained a 'first-class' degree the MA at the Honours level provides an additional qualification towards entry to the doctoral programme (first-class Honours students are accepted at once). This degree too is normally obtained by presenting a substantial dissertation. For Pass students the MA at the Pass level offers the only higher degree that is available, and here coursework is the norm and universities have been relatively inventive. In political science there are MAs in Asian Government (Queensland), International Relations (ANU), and Australian-Asian Relations (Griffith), to name just three. All involve substantial coursework, and the writing of a small thesis is sometimes an optional alternative to part of the coursework. Many other universities simply offer MAs in political science, and the courses offered are often adaptations or extensions of third-year undergraduate courses. Again, setting aside obviously introductory courses, it is sometimes difficult to decide what is to count as 'graduate-level' study as opposed to 'undergraduate-level' study.

The numbers involved in postgraduate study in political science, 28 in all in 1961 (14 Masters and nine doctoral students), increased rapidly to the middle 1970s, when they began to level out. Tatz and Starr estimated that in 1978 there were 127 students proceeding to Masters' degrees in political science by thesis and 106 by coursework and thesis, while there were 108 doctoral students.[15] There were at the same time a number (probably less than 100) of staff candidates for these higher degrees. The university system in Australia has been in a 'non-growth' situation for some years, for both financial and demographic reasons, and these levels are likely to remain typical (or at least, not to grow) in the foreseeable future.

2. Areas of Concentration

What research do Australian postgraduate students undertake? The answer, reasonably enough, is that they do research in the areas which are basic to undergraduate teaching. No data exist, but it is likely that the largest proportion of dissertations presented for higher degrees in political science in Australia over the past 20 years have dealt with topics in Australian government and politics. The next largest group would be topics concerning Southeast Asia, Papua New Guinea, and the Pacific Island communities. Here the weight of the ANU's Institute of Advanced Studies is important, because its Department of Political Science has concentrated on Australian politics and (for a time) on Papua New Guinea,[16] while the Department of International Relations and the Research School of Pacific Studies generally, have made Australia's relations with 'the region' a major concern.

But there are obvious structural causes as well. Postgraduate students are limited in choosing dissertation topics by the resources available to them. Australia still has only a few useful sets of data pertaining to the politics of Britain, the USA or Europe, though the microfiche revolution is changing things. Moreover, few students can afford to travel (scholarship stipends are not generous) and the limited travel funds of universities go to staff rather than to students. Finally, students must have a supervisor who is knowledgeable about the proposed field of research, and available at the time the student begins his dissertation. These constraints push students towards Australian politics if only because it is relatively 'safe': there are many interesting and unresearched areas, and the data and supervisors are likely to exist. The same is true, to a lesser extent, of research on 'the region'. Of course, over time this process is self-perpetuating, as the students of one generation become the supervisors of the next. But at least the result is likely to be the development of a major body of research and scholarship on the government and politics of the nation itself – something that hardly existed in 1950 – and a growing contribution to international research in one of the world's most turbulent and important areas – Asia.

Something should be said of the style of postgraduate research. Although Australian political science has remained firmly in the mainstream of the discipline it has tended to avoid the fashions of American political science. There was no 'behavioural revolution' (though there are signs of a 'post-behavioural reaction'), and systems theorists, group theorists, Straussians, and advocates of other approaches to the subject have always been small in number. To restate an earlier theme, it seems to be the case that Australians have a pragmatic approach to intellectual questions, and are suspicious of large-scale theories (Marxians always excepted). Not only that, but mathematics and statistics did not become part of the ordinary training of social scientists until very recently, and in political science programmes these tools are available (if at all) only as options. A UNESCO Committee established in 1967 to improve the mathematical training of social scientists followed American examples in setting up summer schools and in encouraging mathematics and statistics teachers to use social-science examples, but it remains true that political scientists in Australia tend to avoid mathematical models and statistical treatments even where these would be thought routine elsewhere.

Since few political scientists in Australia are at all numerate, it follows that their postgraduate students are not forced to become so, or to develop their mathematical skills if they possess any. It is probably fair to say that the majority of dissertations in political science display strengths in analysis, in historical narrative and in writing, but are theoretically impoverished and (where that would be appropriate) lack adequate statistical or mathematical understanding and apparatus.[17] In these respects Australian political science may be no worse than its counterparts in other countries, since it is possible to undertake a perfectly adequate study of the politics and government of any nation without either a mathematical model or an elaborate theoretical framework, and it is clear from the international literature that such work continues to be the standard product of political science the world over. Nonetheless, these deficiencies exist, and ought to be commented upon in a discussion of this kind.

3. Research as a University Activity

The scale of the universities' postgraduate endeavour has meant that postgraduate theses themselves form an important section of the research output of Australian political science. Many of the notable books in the discipline, especially those relating to Australia itself, are revised versions of Ph.D or, more rarely, MA theses; other theses form the basis of articles in learned journals. In fact, it is rare for a doctoral thesis in political science to remain totally 'unpublished'. But theses are not the main research product. That is the work of academic staff themselves.

Australian academics are expected both to teach and to do research. The relationship between these activities is summed up in the quip 'paid to teach, and promoted for research', but it is fair to say that by and large universities provide at least adequate time for their staff to do research. This is less true of colleges of advanced education, where staff are expected to spend more of their time in front of classes and research is not given such a priority. For university political scientists, as for teachers in other social sciences and humanities, an average of perhaps eight hours per week in front of scheduled classes may be typical. One rule of thumb is that a 'contact hour' involves three other hours in preparation, assessment and individual contact with students. Since the university teaching year is nowhere longer than 30 weeks, it would be difficult to argue that academics have no time to spend on their scholarship and research, even if much of the available time is broken by enrolment procedures, meetings, examinations and course design, the recurring crises of the university year.

Along with a good deal of available time goes the institution of the sabbatical year, already referred to, which allows academics not only to keep in touch with colleagues overseas but also to carry out field work in other countries, should their research interests lie abroad. Universities assist the research of their staff as well through financial grants which help to provide equipment or travel. The amounts involved have become relatively small as university finances have come under pressure in recent years. A more important source of research finance is the Australian Research Grants Committee (ARGC), established in 1966.

4. Finance for Research

The ARGC is wholly funded by the Commonwealth Government to support high-level research by members of universities. Academics compete for grants, which are awarded after an elaborate process of assessment and peer review. In 1982 the ARGC had nearly $A18 million to spend, and the humanities and social sciences, on past experience, would get about a quarter of this. The share of political science over the past few years has been relatively small (history, for example, has been conspicuously more successful), and that seems to be due mostly to the reluctance of political scientists to embark on the relatively large or ambitious projects which require substantial funding to be successful. Traditions of individual research may be at the bottom of this diffidence. Studies of the federal system in operation, for example, would involve several political scientists situated in the various States, since Australia is simply too big for a single scholar to undertake a major study of the federal system, or of the variety of State administrations.

However, Australian social scientists generally have grown up in the 'individualist' tradition of research rather than in the 'team' tradition more evident in the USA.

Another source of research finance has been the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia, which began life as the Social Sciences Research Council in 1943, and took its present name in 1971. The Academy is in part an honorific body, electing to its membership each year eight to 10 distinguished social scientists in Australia. But it is also a body which stimulates and focuses research. Past projects on Australia's aboriginal population and on immigration resulted in each case in the publication of several important books and monographs.[18] The Academy's current project, which began in 1981, centres on Australia and the South Pacific. The Academy has also been responsible for a series of books on the social sciences in Australia : two volumes of a three-volume series on economics have appeared (Gruen 1978 and 1979), a volume on political science is in preparation, and volumes on geography and psychology are planned.

Private foundations have not been important sources of finance for political science research. Australia has no equivalents in the private sector of the Ford Foundation or of the Carnegie and Rockefeller bequests. No huge private fortunes were built up in the 19th century, and the philanthropic foundation is only now becoming a familiar institution. In any case, those that do exist have tended to be unsympathetic towards requests to support research in politics, preferring projects of more obvious popular appeal, like research into heart disease.

On the whole, governments, corporations and unions have not been important commissioners of research in political science either. There has been a tendency for economics to stand as the important social science for policymakers, in part because the basis of conflict in Australia is economic, rather than religious, ethnic or linguistic. Political science has not established itself as a vocational social science to anything like the extent of economics, a degree in which is almost essential for people desiring careers in the Treasury and related departments of the Commonwealth Public Service. Where expert advice is sought by governments or corporations, therefore, the expert most commonly turned to is an economist.

Two other aspects of Australian political culture affect the commissioning of research. The first is the institution of the Royal Commission, a device employed by governments – State and Federal – to obtain information not available to the public service, or to allow a public inquiry into a current issue, or simply to quieten public clamour and postpone the need to make a difficult decision. There have been several hundred Royal Commissions in the 20th century, and they have produced an enormous amount of information of varying quality and utility. Royal Commissions confer extensive powers on the Commissioners, and the tendency has been to employ judges to exercise these powers. Very rarely has a political scientist been a commissioner,[19] although some recent Royal Commissions have requested political scientists to prepare papers and reports on one or other aspect of the matters under scrutiny. The most notable example is the Royal Commission on Australian Government Administration set up in 1974 (often called the 'Coombs Commission', after its chairman) which commissioned more than 40 research papers and reports from academics, mostly political scientists. Its Director of Research, Dr Geoffrey Hawker, is a political scientist (see Hawker, 1977 for an account of the use of academics in policy research of this kind).

The second aspect of political culture that bears on the question of commissioned research is the divisive and partisan nature of Australian politics. The Australian party system, not far short of a century old, has always emphasised conflict rather than consensus. Australian politics has not been characterised by openness or rational inquiry – unlike Norway, for example, where the Prime Minister's Department commissioned a recent study into the distribution of power in Norway (Rokkan, 1978, p. 128). Political scientists who wish to make a useful contribution to solving contemporary problems in Australia are likely to find themselves drawn into party politics whether they wish this or not. The result is that many do not try.

The worlds of government, business, and university have little overlap in Australia. Unlike the USA, it is uncommon for men and women to move for shorter or longer periods from one sphere of working life to another. There has been very little interchange between the private and public sectors despite a widespread agreement that the interchange of managers and public servants would be an excellent thing. There has been even less movement in and out of universities. Superannuation arrangements are often cited as a part-cause, as is the necessity of 'visiting' public servants or managers almost immediately to teach undergraduate courses, and the fact that since universities tend to recruit their brightest and most successful products as future academics, it is a rare manager of public servant who will not seem rather underqualified to be a university teacher.

Whatever the reason, the lack of movement has been a sad thing for political scientists, nearly all of whom lack first-hand experience of government, and who are required (as are all academics) to give up their posts if they are elected to Parliament. Of course, there are exceptions. L.F. Crisp, the author of the most successful text on Australian government, had been the permanent head of a Commonwealth department before entering university life in 1951. John Burton made a second career as an international relations scholar in England after serving as permanent head of the Department of External Affairs and later trying unsuccessfully to gain election to Parliament. A few other political scientists have spent some time as members of the public service before becoming academics. Colin Hughes served for several months as a member of the Priorities Review Staff (the 'think-tank') set up by the Whitlam Government in 1973, and Owen Harries spent even longer on the staff of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, where he was responsible among other things for an important report on Australia's relations with the third world (Harries 1979). David Kemp has served for two periods as chief adviser to Mr Fraser, the then Prime Minister. And at least five political scientists have been elected to the Federal Parliament, though none has subsequently returned to university to teach. F.A. Bland (1951-1961; he was elected after he retired from the University of Sydney, and finally retired from Parliament at the age of 79), A.J. Forbes (1956-1975), A.A. Staley (1970-1980), Dr N. Blewett (1977-) and Dr A.C. Theophanous (1980-). The first three were elected in the Liberal Party interest (and Forbes and Staley both served for a time as Ministers), the last two as Labour Members. At least one political scientist, R. Hetherington in Western Australia, has been elected to a State legislature.

The foregoing discussion of the political environment is a useful preliminary to a discussion of the main trends in research over the past 30 years, using the categories devised for the Academy's *Survey of Political Science in Australia.* These categories (which sometimes overlap a little) themselves point to the emphases of Australian political science in this time. This book, edited by Don Aitkin, published in late 1982, will be the basic source for a bibliography of Australian political science, since its nine chapters discuss more than 1,000 books and articles. The following paragraphs do no more than sketch trends and areas of concentration; the books and articles mentioned are a sample only, and are not necessarily always the best or the most representative. The first group of five subjects encompasses Australian politics; the second group has a wider perspective.

Political Institutions. The mixture of responsible government and federation instituted by the Constitution in 1901 provided the stimulus for much of the writing about Australian politics until about 1950. Increasingly, however, attention switched to an analysis of parties and pressure groups. Crisp's *The Parliamentary Government of the Commonwealth of Australia,* published in 1949, retitled *Australian National Government,* extensively revised and still in print, may stand as the summation of that early emphasis. The new trend was led by an American visitor, Louise Overacker, with her *The Australian Party System* (1952), and books and articles followed on the Labour Party (Crisp, 1955), the Country Party (Ellis, 1958), and the relationship between unions and the ALP. A start was made at the ANU in making accessible to teachers and researchers the mass of data on elections and ministries : the first fruits of this toil appeared in the 1960s (Hughes and Graham, 1968).

Although the expansion of the discipline in the 1960s meant that the dominance of the study of political institutions necessarily declined, its volume continued to increase. In studies of federalism the outstanding figure was Geoffrey Sawer, an eminent lawyer who was at home in political science (Sawer, 1956, 1963, 1967, 1977). A good deal was written on Parliament, much of it directed to improving Parliament's effectiveness: here the key figure has been Gordon Reid, a former *Serjeant-at-Arms* of the House of Representatives (e.g. Reid, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1972, 1973, 1980). Political parties and pressure groups received greater attention, the non-Labour parties rather than the ALP being the focus of interest (e.g. Jupp, 1964; West, 1965; Graham, 1966; Rawson, 1966).

The turbulence of the 1970s directed attention again to the working of basic political institutions, especially the Constitution (but here, as always, the best work was done by lawyers, Mark Cooray's discussion of the dismissal of the Whitlam Government (1979) being a good example). The dismissal, indeed, generated a whole literature, but at the end of the decade it seemed unlikely that the nation was any closer to basic constitutional reform. Federalism returned to the centre of the stage, in part because of the establishment of the Centre for Research in Federal Financial Relations at the ANU in 1972; by 1981 the Centre had produced 40 books and 20 major papers, many of them of lasting importance. In 1981 a continuing project on federalism, co-ordinated by the Department of Political Science in the

ANU's Research School of Social Sciences, maintained the interest in federalism – which indeed can never be without importance to political science in Australia. And there are now many good books on the politics and government of the Australian States (e.g. Parker, 1958, Hughes 1980).

The study of political institutions has been continuing, industrious and generally successful. It is at the heart of the discipline of political science everywhere, and not least in Australia, where it can look to a complex political system to provide ever new subjects for research.

Political Sociology. Because of the history of the disciplines in Australia, political sociology lodges in political science, not sociology. Though the term can mean almost anything, in Australia it has come to embrace the political behaviour of individuals, elites and groups, the social basis of political parties, and such diverse activities as media studies, political dissent, and public opinion. Whereas in Europe and the United Kingdom political sociology never strays far from the theoretical masters, Weber and Durkheim, in Australia the focus has been much more empirical, and work has proceeded sometimes as though insulated from the debates which have taken place elsewhere. The continuing discussion in Europe of the 'embourgeoisement' thesis, for example, has had little correspondence in Australia.

Four themes stand out in this heterogeneous field. The 'political culture' of Australia has been explored by a number of scholars, including Davies and Encel in the Sociology readers they edited (Davies and Encel, 1965 and 1970; Davies, Encel and Berry, 1977) and in Encel's *Equality and Authority* (1970). Davies's own interest in psychology led him to develop interests at the boundaries of political science, social psychology and sociology which have resulted in a number of important books and articles exploring aspects of 'private politics' (e.g. Davies, 1966, 1972, 1973). Davies' work is hard to generalise from, but he has built up at the University of Melbourne a school of political scientists sympathetic to his approach and productive in their own ways. Electoral sociology is exemplified by Colin A. Hughs' *Images and Issues* (1963), Don Aitkin's *Stability and Change in Australian Politics,* (1977), the Australian representative in the family of Michigan studies, and David Kemp's *Society and Electoral Behaviour in Australia* (1978), a comprehensive analysis based on 30 years of public opinion poll data. Finally, there has been a recent rapid growth in studies of the media and politics, multi-disciplinary in origin, in which political scientists have played an important part (not least in Henry Mayer's establishment of the journal *Media Information Australia,* discussed below).

Public Administration. Unlike all the other fields of Australian political science, with the possible exception of international relations, public administration has been closely connected to the workings of government itself, and interested in contributing to an increase in the efficiency and equity of government administration. This pragmatic emphasis has tended to give public administration a low status in the eyes of those for whom theoretical vigour is everything. And indeed there has been an avoidance of theorising about administration. Australian political science, notwithstanding its long concern with public administration, has not produced a Fred Riggs or Herbert Simon. But then, neither has British political science, and theorising is not a major activity of public administrationists anywhere. For all that, public administration in Australia has attracted some of the ablest intellects in political science, and the best work in the field is very good indeed.

In the 1950s the influence of F.A. Bland was still important, and matters such as patronage, administrative reform and the structure of social security were key concerns. The expansion of the discipline in the 1960s saw an increase in numbers and, as in other areas of the discipline, a more ambitious attack, in the work of Gerald Caiden, Roger Wettenhall, V. Subramanian and David Corbett, on the concerns of the field.[20] The centres of this work were at the ANU, under R.S. Parker, and at the University of Sydney, under R.N. Spann, men whose contributions to public adminitration – and to political science – have been justly and widely praised.[21] The 1970s saw a shift into public policy as well as an intensified interest in government administration, the consequence and also to some degree the stimulus of the establishment of the federal Royal Commission into Australian Government Administration and its later counterparts in some of the States. In both areas (whose overlap, of course, is extensive) the work of Geoffrey Hawker, Patrick Weller, and R.F.I. Smith has been important.[22]

Political History and Biography. The title indicates that this field lies at the boundaries of history and political science. It is included, first because the rest of political science could hardly exist without it, and second, because political scientists have been prominent in research and scholarship in the field. A leading historian writing in 1963 found little political history and four biographies (Ward, 1963); 20 years later political history is still rare, save where writing it has been an incidental task in other works, but biographers are certainly more numerous.

The difficulty with work on the boundary of two disciplines can sometimes be that neither discipline deals with it properly. Specialisation has had something of this effect with respect to political history : the historians have increasingly left the political bits to the political scientists, who, as often as not, have had other things to do. So Australian economic history, for example, has said little about the role of government and political parties. Political history has been written best almost in passing, and in a variety of contexts.

First there have been general works in political science, like Crisp's *Australian National Government* (1965), in which the entire treatment of government is managed historically. Then there have been political histories of important periods or events in the life of the nation, such as federation (La Nauze, 1972, Norris, 1975, Wright, 1970), or the great depression of the 1930s (Schedvin, 1970, Cooksey, 1970), or the second world war (Hasluck, 1952 and 1970), or the Labour government of the early 1970s (Lloyd and Reid, 1974, Sexton 1979). There have been political histories of the several States, or of aspects of them (e.g. Hirst, 1973; Murphy, Joyce and Hughes 1970; Loveday and Martin 1966), and a number of histories of trade unions and pressure groups (e.g. Gollan 1963; Kristianson, 1966). Writing about political parties has necessarily been historical, and since political parties have been well researched, their analysis has generated some most useful history. What makes all these works 'political' is their authors' concern with power – how it is gained, or lost, or used.

One sometimes overlooked body of research is the painstaking production of essentially historical data for use by others. Some of the more important examples are the *Handbooks* of Australian government and politics edited by Hughes and Graham (1968) and more recently by Hughes alone (1977), Sawer's two indispensable volumes on Australian federal politics and law (1956, 1963), Weller's editions of the ALP's caucus and executive *Minutes* (1975, 1978), Manning and Turner's guide to the records of the NSW Liberal Party (1976), and Rawson and Wrightson's important series of *Handbooks* dealing with the trade union movement (the most recent, 1982).

Biographers are also important producers of political history, of necessity in their case, since the available history is never adequate for their purpose. Australian politicians have rarely kept papers or made them available to scholars. There are, as a result, few good biographies and even fewer good autobiographies. Of the former group some notable treatments are of Alfred Deakin (La Nauze, 1965), W.M. Hughes (Fitzhardinge, 1964 and 1979) and J.B. Chifley (Crisp, 1961), all Prime Ministers, Henry Parkes, a long-serving 19th century NSW politician and Premier (Martin, 1980), and Garfield Barwick, a federal politician and Chief Justice (Marr, 1980). The best and most useful autobiographies have been not by politicians, with the exception of two volumes by Sir Paul Hasluck (1977 and 1980), but by public servants such as Sir Robert Garran (1958), Sir Walter Crocker (1971), and Sir Alan Watt (1972). In the area of biography, as elsewhere, Alan Davies of Melbourne has been an important influence, not only in writing about biography (Davies 1967), but in writing it himself (Davies, 1966), and in influencing others who have done so (e.g. Aitkin, 1969, Walter, 1980).

Biographical registers are a major resource to political scientists, and these exist for most of the State Parliaments and for the Commonwealth. The multi-volumed *Australian Dictionary of Biography* should also be mentioned in this context; still incomplete, but adding a volume every two years, it is a research tool of very high quality and a fine example of intellectual enterprise and co-operation.

Radical Political Science. Australian intellectual life possesses a radical tradition that is a century old at least; it became self-conscious in the growth of Australian nationalism in the 19th century. For that reason it has been most evident, in the world of academic scholarship, in the works of historians. Political science, initially exploring the Australian derivations of British governmental models which for a long time it felt to be the best, was not inclined to assert the virtue of home-grown ways, and is still uninterested in pressing the advantages of Australian solutions, political and governmental problems on an awaiting world.

To say that Australian political science was not radical is not to say that it was conservative. It was never part of government (a theme explored in a later section), and could not be blamed either for errors in domestic policy or for such foreign affairs adventures as intervention in the war in Vietnam. It was always more an area of study than a 'profession', which meant that almost any approach to the subject was acceptable so long as it was serious and decently scholarly. There was therefore little foothold for a radical reaction to a professional establishment. And finally there were, within the discipline, but not part of the radical tradition, highly respected political scientists like Alan Davies, who insisted that the subject remain interested in human beings, or Henry Mayer, who demanded that 'professional' political scientists try to understand the point of view of critics of all kinds, and provided platforms for such critics.

Those saving introductions aside, radical political science in Australia has been more or less Marxian, in the sense that it defines Australia as a capitalist nation with a ruling class and a working class, a bourgeois society, and a consequent set of endemic problems that only a socialist transformation can overcome. It focuses on Australia rather than Asia or anywhere else, and by and large it flourishes in journals and in the short article, which is usually heavily theoretical. In the early 1980s there were several journals catering to 'critical' writers (they are mentioned in Chapter 3, Section 5), and in their pages one could encounter the Australian reactions to the neo-Marxist theorising of Europeans like Althusser,, Poulantzas and Habermas.

Since academic Marxism is multi-disciplinary, whatever else it is, there are no clearly defined 'political science' examples in book form. But books which demand attention in this genre are a fine biography of Antonio Gramsci by Alastair Davidson (1977), R.W. Connell's *Ruling Class, Ruling Culture* (1977), and the later *Class Structure in Australian History* (1980) (which he co-authored with T.H. Irving), Tim Rowse's *Australian Liberalism and National Character* (1978), and Andrew Theophanous's *Australian Democracy in Crisis* (1980).

As a small footnote it should be noted that there is yet little 'feminist' political science in Australia, although a feminist group has coalesced in the Australasian Political Science Association. Carole Pateman's Presidential address to the 23rd APSA Conference on Women and Political Studies (Pateman, 1982) and the work of Marian Simms (1981) and Marian Sawer (1980, 1982) provide a starting-point for an understanding of the feminist position. Unquestionably the 1980s will see some important books and articles in this area.

Political Theory. Writing in 1958, after surveying the literature of Australian political science, Davis and Hughes commented 'There has been remarkably little writing of or about political theory in Australia' (p. 130). Nearly a quarter of a century later it remains true that political theory is the poor relation of empirical research and scholarship.

But this is not because the subject is dead. On the contrary, in Australia as in Europe and the USA, there has been a remarkable revival in political theory since about 1970, a revival to some degree independent of the expansion in the academic enterprise that was occurring at much the same time. Perhaps the war in Vietnam was one part cause; perhaps the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia was another; perhaps the publication in 1971 of John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice* was a third. In any event the subject is alive and well : a 1981 count discovered 91 political theory courses offered by political science departments, plus a further 35 in history and 45 in philosophy departments. Many of the political science chairs are held by theorists, and there are in addition several historians and philosophers who could hold such chairs.

For all that, the volume of published political theory is not large. Of course, the field is perhaps more suited to the journal article or to the published symposium than to the monograph or book. And, more generally, Australia has undergone no revolution and can claim no national political thinker (such as Madison for the USA) whose works remain relevant because they have helped to shape political institutions.

The main emphasis has been in matters connected with democracy. The nature of freedom has been one strand (Anderson, 1943; Benn, 1967; Benn and Weinstein, 1971), obligation and consent another (Partridge, 1971; Pateman, 1980). Many of the same writers have dealt with representation and participation, power, and ideology (Pateman, 1970; Partridge, 1963 and 1963a; Benn, 1978). More recently (prompted by UN and UNESCO initiatives) there has been an interest in human rights (Kamenka and Tay, 1978; Tay, 1981). No distinctively Australian perspective has informed this work; the crucial connection is the choice of 'democratic theory' as the field in which to concentrate.

There has been some attention to Marx and Mill (e.g. Duncan 1969 and 1973), Hobbes and Locke, but very little ancient or mediaeval political theory. Among new directions is an interest in political style, language and rhetoric (Grainger, 1969; Corcoran, 1979), but Australians have so far played little part in discussions of the philosophy of the social sciences which are common overseas.

Condren comments (in Aitkin, 1982) that 'Australian political theory has in fact a long tradition of being addressed to practical issues or of couching issues in terms of contemporary relevance'. But he notes too an increasing professionalism on what has been written. 'The style in many cases is not inferior to earlier writing; the problems raised are tackled with more argued precision in the context of other theoretical discussions . . .'. And the variety and number of political theory courses available make it unlikely that future political scientists will be a-theoretical in their approach to research as was once true.

Foreign Politics. This is an unsatisfactory rubric, but neither 'Comparative Politics' nor 'Comparative Government' will do, since Australian political science is not given much to comparisons or to the use of comparative models. This does not, of course, make it unusual, since the world over the comparative method is much more praised than practised.

Essentially, Australian political scientists who are interested in the politics of other countries are interested in 'the region', a phrase which can denote everything from Pakistan to the Aleutians and from Vladivostok to Santiago. But it is notable that, with a few honourable exceptions, there has been little writing on Africa, on South or Central or North America, on Europe or on Great Britain. On the other hand, the Australian contributions to international political-science research in 'the region' has been most important.

With respect to Indonesia, for example, the work of Herbert Feith (1962), J.A.C. Mackie (1974, 1976) and Rex Mortimer (1973, 1974) has attracted considerable attention. China has stimulated the research of C.P. Fitzgerald (1976), I.F.H. Wilson (1975) and more recently of Bill Brugger (1977, 1981) and others of the 'Adelaide School'. Japanese politics has drawn Arthur Stockwin (1968, 1975), Cambodia (Kampuchea), Milton Osborne (1969, 1979). Australia's movement in the war in Vietnam did not attract an Australian contingent of political scientists, which perhaps reinforces the earlier point about the distance of Australian political science from the primary concerns of the Government of the day. Papua New Guinea, by contrast, has generated almost a small industry in Australian political science – and one in which Americans, unusually, are in a small minority (see, for example, Wolfers, 1975 and 1976; Loveday and Wolfers 1976; Bettison Hughes and Van der Veur, 1965).

The underlying purpose of most of this research has been to interpret the various countries of the region, and especially such phenomena as nationalism and communism, to Australia. Scholars have sought an understanding of Asia and Asians, not so much for their own sake, or to test various hypotheses drawn from the literature of comparative politics, as to allow a proper response from Australians and their governments. Most of them are undeniably expert, having spent years in the country of countries of their specialty, and being very familiar, again through visits, with the work of their counterparts elsewhere in the world.

One exception to this concentration on 'the region' is the work of T.H.R. Rigby and his small group at the ANU on the Soviet Union and the East European satellites. Rigby is one of the world's leading students of the government and politics of the Soviet Union, and over the years he and his colleagues and students have produced a body of work in this area that is most important by world standards (e.g. Rigby 1968 and 1979; Rigby and Miller, 1976; Miller, 1974). In the same field, Lloyd Churchward's text on Soviet Government (1968) is internationally used.

International Relations. The members of Australia's small band of international-relations scholars have made a contribution to the literature of the field out of all proportion to their number. With a few notable exceptions they have taken up a position in the 'realist/rationalist' area of international relations, a position characterised by the belief that the world of states is distinguished by an unending struggle for power which can nonetheless be moderated by the common interests and obligations of states. 'Idealist' scholars are few; Australia has an active and successful Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, but lacks a Peace Research Institute. Researchers are bound together by methods, too: there is common reliance on the philosophical/historical method, and there are few behaviouralists, class theorists or transnational (i.e. non-state) analysts.

These common characteristics point to the influence of a single school, that of the Department of International Relations at the ANU's Research School of Pacific Studies. Although international relations is taught in practically every department of political science, the only named chair in International Relations is in this department (for a time there were two), and many of its graduates teach the subject elsewhere.

There have been two emphases : the foreign-policy process of certain nations (especially those in 'the region'), and the systemic relations between the great powers, and between states generally. J.D.B. Miller has written a good deal on the foreign-policy process, especially in connection with the British Commonwealth and the third world (Miller 1958, 1963, 1966, 1974). Hedley Bull, for several years Miller's colleague at ANU, concentrated on the society of states (Bull, 1965, 1977) as did T.B. Millar (1967), Coral Bell (1962, 1964, 1971) and J.L. Richardson (1966), though the latter two have been more concerned with the struggle for power within that society than with its nature. All the leading figures in the field have made a contribution to the study of Australian foreign policy, an endeavour that has been a continuing pre-occupation of Australian political science since before the second world war.

Three important figures have remained more or less outside the realistic, state-centric, power-politics approach. Arthur Burns, who in the 1950s employed a behavioural methodology and in the 1960s stressed the importance of the strivings of humanity for a better world as a dynamic in international relations (Burns, 1956, 1968); John Burton, who argued the case for non-alignment in two much-discussed books in the 1960s (Burton, 1965, 1968); and more recently Joe Camilleri, who has written about the importance to the world of states of a possible ecological crisis provoked by capitalist exploitation and the self-interest of states (Camilleri, 1976).

There is a case for arguing that in the field of international relations Australia has produced its best contributions to political science. The less certain world of the late 20th century is likely to generate work of equally high quality.

III. THE SITUATION OF THE PROFESSION

As will now be clear, political science in Australia, as in most of the rest of the world, is a profession almost all of whose practitioners work in universities and post-secondary colleges. Some of the consequences for the study of political science have been spelled out already. This section sets the profession in context, and considers its problems.

1. Educational Backgrounds

Since the discipline has been a comparatively recent development in universities, it follows that the earliest teachers tended to have been trained in other disciplines, most commonly philosophy, history or law. Even as late as the 1960s it was not uncommon to find new political scientists who had studied the subject not in their undergraduate years but only at the postgraduate level.

By the early 1980s such a background would be exceptional. A newly appointed lecturer in political science (the basic tenured academic appointment) would be expected to have graduated with high Honours in political science and then to have completed a Ph.D in the subject. Because of the rapid growth of the profession in the 1960s and early 1970s a number of political scientists were appointed before they had attained the doctorate. Some were from Britain, where the quality of the first degree still counted for a great deal, whether or not the person in question secured a Ph.D. later. Of course, the Masters degree in Arts or

Economics, as already indicated, was for many older Australian political scientists the counterpart of the Ph.D. In 1957 only nine of the 27 full-time university teachers of political science had doctorates; 20 years later the numbers were 108 among 208 : the proportion had risen from a third to more than a half (Tatz and Starr, 1978: 11).

Although precise data do not exist, it is tempting to say that the universities of Australia, the USA, and the United Kingdom have contributed more or less equally to the training of the body of political scientists working in Australia, with the Australian universities having a slightly larger share. A study of university staff qualifications in 1978 revealed that 39 per cent of political scientists had obtained their highest degree in Australia, 34 per cent in the United Kingdom, and 21 per cent in the United States of America. Of the Ph.D holders, 36 per cent gained the doctorate in Australia, 28 per cent in the UK and 31 per cent in the USA (Tatz and Starr, 1978: Table 3). It is likely that the contribution of Australian universities to the training of CAE political scientists is rather greater. In any event, the mix of Australian, British and American backgrounds is a pointer to the 'international' nature of the discipline in Australia. Of the 23 full professors of political science in 1978 nearly half had come from overseas to make academic careers in Australia.

2. Careers in Political Science

Political science forms part of what is called a 'liberal arts' education : the kind of education that a civilised person in a civilised society should enjoy. As a university subject, in any case, it has few vocational paths in Australia. Graduates in political science will find that they have no greater prospects of appointment to or promotion in the public service than graduates in history, and rather smaller prospects than graduates in economics. Graduates in sociology are beginning to find careers opening up in 'social planning', especially at the local government and semi-government authority levels. But no such avenues exist for political scientists. From time to time suggestions are made that Members of Parliament should have some training or qualification in the discipline, but these suggestions are not made by political scientists. Indeed, it is not likely that the profession would support such a proposal, if only because of a widespread belief that representative institutions like Parliament should be *more* representative, not less. Since political science is taught in the schools of only one State, the needs of secondary education do not provide enrolments at the tertiary level, as is very much the case with the traditional humanities subjects like English, history, and geography.

In short, what keeps enrolments up – and political science is a popular subject – is not vocational possibilities but the intrinsic interest of the subject. Australian democracy may not be the world's participatory showpiece, but the political system is relatively open to its citizens, and the results of elections are important and not always predictable. The long-established (1925) institution of compulsory voting ensures that citizens take part in elections, while Australians generally are becoming more aware of the world, and of their own national responsibilities and problems within it.

One clear vocation exists. There are perhaps 500 teachers of political science in the universities and colleges. The end of the growth phase in the post-secondary education system means that their number is unlikely to increase very fast, and the profession – because of that growth phase – has a high proportion aged between 30 and 45. Nonetheless, recruitment continues slowly, and in the 1980s the staff will come very largely from Australians trained at home or abroad. The need to import political scientists has passed; the desirability of importing some, at least, remains.

3. Incentives and Mechanisms for Research

The financing of research in political science has already been discussed, and something said about the general facilities available to academics in Australia. It should perhaps be said again that a certain production in scholarhip and research is expected of academics. Something of the American 'publish or perish' ethos exists in Australian universities, and those who publish tend to be promoted faster than those who do not. In any case, it is no longer difficult to publish in political science: there is continued demand for books for teaching, there are plenty of specialist journals, and there is an extensive network of 'newsletters' which circulate among specialists who do not yet have a journal. These conditions apply generally, and it would be difficult to show that political scientists are more or less productive, person for person, than historians or economists. What does seem to be true, however, is that the mix of publishing styles varies from discipline to discipline : political scientists write more books than economists, for example, and seem to produce more informal journals and newsletters than historians. And the production of journal articles in the social sciences generally is only a fraction of that in the natural sciences.

4. Professional Associations

The chief professional association of academic political scientists is *The Australasian Political Studies Association,* founded in 1952 as an affiliate of IPSA. That affiliation has lapsed at least once in the intervening years, as a result of annual general meetings looking for ways to cut costs; APSA is, however, an affiliate at the time of writing. The organisation was called 'Australian' until 1964, and the use of the word 'Australasian' in the title since that year signifies that APSA represents political scientists in New Zealand as well as in Australia. This has become less true since the New Zealanders set up their own NZPSA in 1974. APSA's first years were unproductive, since political scientists had their regular conferences at the meetings of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (ANZAAS), a multi-disciplinary body formed in 1886. But in 1956 APSA began a cyclostyled newsletter called *APSA News,* and in the following year organised the first conference of university teachers of political science. From 1959, these conferences became annual occasions, and political scientists began to depart from the ANZAAS organisation.

APSA News was replaced in 1966 by *Politics,* a bi-annual printed journal which has published much good research on Australian politics as well as on other subjects. Two editors in particular, Henry Mayer and Dean Jaensch, have worked hard and successfully to give *Politics* a secure place in the international world of political science journals. By 1981 the pressure on the journal had become great enough to stimulate the production once again of a newsletter, this time called *APSA Newsletter,* published five times a year on behalf of APSA by the Department of Political Science of the ANU's Research School of Social Sciences. The *Newsletter* contains short articles, correspondence, news and views, and announcements, while *Politics* is moving to a format in which only major articles, research notes and review articles will be published, a trend observable elsewhere in the world. APSA also publishes a directory of political scientists in Australia and New Zealand (revised every three years), a directory of women political scientists, and an occasional monograph series. In conjunction with the Library of the Commonwealth Parliament it administers a Parliamentary Political Science Fellowship scheme which enables political scientists to take two-year research posts within the Commonwealth Parliament.

APSA's annual conferences have become very successful gatherings, with attendances of around 250. They are held in August in one or other of the capital cities; Canberra has seen more APSA conferences than any other city, perhaps because of its relatively accessible location. Only one conference has been held outside a capital city (Armidale, NSW in 1977). APSA has not met in New Zealand for some years, and is now unlikely to do so again.

While APSA can be counted a success, with some 400 members and a print-run of 1,000 for its journal, it must be said that only half of the professional political scientists teaching and researching in Australia are members of it, despite numerous membership drives and almost annual appeals from APSA's Executive. The reasons are probably bound up with the once notably Australian emphasis both of the journal and of the conference. In the early 1980s, however, neither journal nor conference can fairly be said to possess such a bias; but it is in the nature of things that such developments are noticed only slowly. (The journal is discussed in more detail below, in Sub section 5).

Three other associations deserve notice here. The first, already mentioned, is *The Australian Institute of Political Science.* Academic political scientists have been consistent contributors to its journal, *The Australian Quarterly,* as well as regular participants in its Summer Schools, which have an important function in bringing together practitioners and students. Political scientists have always played a part in the affairs of the Institute (a body supported by its members and by donations) but have preferred not to play a leading part, since the Institute's success in part flows from its acceptance in the community as a 'lay' rather than an expert organisation.

Apart from *The Australian Quarterly,* discussed in the next section, the Institute has published the papers and discussion from its Summer Schools from the very beginning, and the series presents a unique perspective on one set of preoccupations of politically active Australians. The first book, *Studies in the Australian Constitution* (1933) represents a dominant theme of the 1930s and 1940s, since four other conferences in those decades centred on Australia's constitutional problems and possibilities. These decades were interested in problems of the economy and of postwar reconstruction in the broadest sense. Economic growth was a theme of the 1950s and 1960s, as were Australia's relations with Asia, its responsibilities to Papua New Guinea, and its foreign and defence policy generally. The troubled 1970s produced a series of 'crisis' conferences : Would Australia run out of oil? Were governments too big? How inequitable was Australian society? Who runs Australia? How could industrial relations be improved in the remainder of the century? The role of political scientists in these proceedings has been most marked, of course, in the last 20 years.

In some ways *The Australian Institute of International Affairs* is a sister organisation. It too was formed before the war, in 1933, and it too brings together practitioners and students – this time of foreign policy, foreign affairs and diplomacy -- in regular conferences and seminars. The AIIA was formed as an affiliate of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, whose headquarters are at Chatham House in London, and AIIA maintains international links with similar bodies in other Commonwealth countries. Its scale is grander : the AIIA has more than 2,000 members in a federal organisation, while the AIPS is still in essence a relatively small Sydney-based body. And the AIIA's office-bearers are people of some eminence. The Governor-General is a patron (the title is Visitor), while the current President is the former Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia, Sir Garfield Barwick, and its director (a full-time position) is usually a retired senior diplomat. It has been aided financially for some years by the Federal Government.

Like the AIPS, the AIIA publishes a journal, *Australian Outlook,* (discussed in the next section) and arranges conferences and seminars, whose proceedings are often published as books, It also sponsors named annual lectures, inviting for the purpose distinguished foreigners and Australians with an interest in foreign affairs. The Dyason lectures have brought to Australia Bertrand Russell, Arnold Toynbee and Gunnar Myrdal, among others, while the Roy Milne lectures have provided an opportunity for many Australian prime ministers, foreign ministers and opposition leaders to articulate their own views on foreign policy to a national audience of interested people.

Political scientists have played perhaps a more notable role in the affairs of AIIA than has been true of AIPS, perhaps because of the special character of its journal, which has become the main publishing vehicle for political scientists working on Australian foreign policy and the politics of the countries in Australia's part of the world. Academics normally edit the journal and arrange its book reviews. In addition, Dr T.B. Millar, an academic in the ANU's Department of International Relations, served for some years as a successful part-time director of the AIIA itself.

The final professional association is *The Australian Institute of Public Administration.* Like the AIIA, it was formed as a 'colonial' off-shoot of a British parent, in this case the Royal Institute of Public Administration, whose name it kept until 1979. It brings together public servants and political scientists interested in public administration, who are formed into 'regional groups' (one for each State and for the Australian Capital Territory) which organise their own programmes of meetings and seminars. Since 1958 the groups have collaborated in organising an annual conference. AIPA does most of the things the AIIA and AIPS do; its journal, the *Australian Journal of Public Administration* is discussed in the next section. Its distinctive activity, in this company, is its annual essay competition, which attracts entries of high quality on a set question involving a contemporary problem in public administration.

The AIPA has a large membership (more than 3,500, the great majority of them public servants) and the journal enjoys a print-run of some 4,000. Unlike the other two institutes, it has no permanent secretariat, and is assisted in diverse ways by the resources of State and Federal governments. Academic political scientists have played a notable part in the affairs of the journal (it was first edited by F.A. Bland in 1937, and later for a long period by Professor R.N. Spann, also of the University of Sydney), but have not been prominent, save in matters of education, in the councils of AIPA itself.

5. Political Science Journals

Australian political scientists can be found among the contributors to all the world's important political science journals, perhaps because Australian political scientists keep up their contacts with colleagues abroad. This section briefly discusses the journals that originate in Australia, which probably carry the majority of articles written by Australian academics and, though the international traffic in learned writing continues to increase, certainly carry a majority of articles that were written in Australia. The journals are listed in order of antiquity.

The Australian Quarterly (1929), published by the Australian Institute of Political Science in Sydney, four times a year. The *Quarterly* is less an academic journal than a journal for which academics write. Tatz and Starr remark (1978: 16) that it has, since its founding year, 'included articles by almost everyone of political or academic standing in Australia', a somewhat hyperbolic judgment which nonetheless points to the journal's range. Its emphasis is topical and empirical, its waiting time is relatively short, and its best articles display political-science learning applied to contemporary political problems, in a literate, unpretentious style. Since 1953 it has included in each issue a 'Political Review', an invaluable opinionated chronicle of the flow of Australian politics. The 'Review' has had many authors (they are named), who follow their own sense of what events, issues and personalities should be noticed. The 'Political Review' helps to make the *AQ* important; and the journal is usually lively, something that cannot usually be said for journals in political science.

The Australian Journal of Public Administration (1939), published by the Australian Institute of Public Administration in Sydney, four times a year. From its beginnings to 1975 this journal was entitled *Public Administration*. Dominated by practitioners in its early years, the journal has come more and more to be the chosen vehicle for political scientists in the field of public administration. Its emphasis is empirical, local and pragmatic, and it remains rooted in the institutional tradition of political science. At the same time, the *AJPA* and its predecessor have published some important articles of a theoretical bent, and some of the rare accounts by senior public servants of the political nature of their work, as distinct from its administrative character.

In 1976 the journal began a regular 'Administrative Chronicle' along the lines of the 'Political Chronicle' in the *AJPH,* thereby greatly aiding the discipline in keeping track of changes in administrative practice and law – a matter of special importance in a nation with an elaborate governmental system.

Historical Studies (1940), published by the Department of History, University of Melbourne, twice a year. The border between political science and history is not a sharp one, and much good work in each discipline is noticed and used in the other. This is especially true in Australia, where political science can be said to have 'emerged' from history, at least to some degree. *Historical Studies* is a fine scholarly journal which has always carried a proportion of articles of interest to political scientists, especially (since it is one of the two leading journals which publish Australian history) those interested in Australian political history. In the 1960s its emphasis in this field was in the history of the Australian political parties; in the following decade emphasis had shifted to the history of Australian foreign relations and defence preparations.[23]

Australian Outlook (1947), published by the Australian Institute of International Affairs in Melbourne, four times a year until 1959, thereafter three times a year. *Australian Outlook* has two emphases: Australia's relations with the rest of the world, and national and international politics in Asia and in the Pacific. In the latter area it has paid special attention to Papua New Guinea, and, almost alone of Australian journals, has published articles about New Zealand. Over the last 20 years the proportion of articles that have a specifically Australian reference has grown from about one in six to one half. *Australian Outlook* is more consistently 'scholarly' in its approach than the *AQ.*

The Australian Journal of Politics and History (1955), published by the Department of History, University of Queensland, in Brisbane; twice a year until 1963, thereafter three times a year. The *AJPH* was enlarged in 1964, in order, among other purposes, to allow more space to be devoted to 'controversial issues of contemporary moment'. But it remains a solidly professional historians' journal which also publishes mainstream political science. About one article in three, over the past 20 years, has had an Australian-politics emphasis. Like the *AQ,* the *AJPH* publishes a regular 'Political Chronicle', but this is larger, more comprehensive (all States are represented as well as the Commonwealth, each from a different pen), and perhaps less opinionated. A regular review of Australian foreign policy, more an essay than a chronicle, is a separate benefit. The value to the discipline of the *AQ's* 'Political Review' and the *AJPH's* 'Political Chronicle' and foreign policy reviews over the past 20 years is simply enormous, since no other journal or institution maintains a similar service, and no longer are there published indexes to the quality newspapers (the most widely used such index, that for the *Sydney Morning Herald,* ceased publication in 1961).

The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology (1965), published by the Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand, twice yearly until 1971, thereafter three times a year. The earliest issues of this journal were filled with contributions by political scientists, reflecting the fact that sociology was the latest academic arrival in the social sciences and political sociology was already thriving as a branch of political science. The *ANZJ. of Soc.* has published many short research notes as well as longer articles, in which it resembles *Politics.* After an abrupt change of form and style in 1973 (consequent upon a power struggle at the annual meeting and a change of editors) the journal has published a number of 'Symposia' on matters of current interest to sociologists. Much of the journal's contents is relevant to political science, and some political scientists write for it. The Australian content, once at the level of one article in three, is now rather lower, at one article in five. The journal has a greater methodological and theoretical emphasis than is the case with any of the others discussed.

Politics (1966), published by the Australian Political Studies Association in Canberra, twice yearly. *Politics* has had a diminishing Australian content : from about three quarters of all articles in its first few years to rather less than a half in the recent past. It publishes many short notes, critiques and commentaries as well as more orthodox articles, and while it has not yet gone in for *Festschriften* (which *Historical Studies* has done twice), it has published large issues in book form, bringing together a number of articles on a single theme, such as the Labour victory in 1972 *(Labour to Power,* the issue of May 1973), and the dismissal of the Whitlam Government in 1975 *(Australian Politics – a New Ballgame,* the issue of May 1976). These endeavours, inspired mostly by the need to raise funds for the chronically impoverished APSA, have played havoc with journal identification.

Media Information Australia (1976), originally published by the Media Information Research Exchange, now by the Australian Film and Television School, in Sydney, four times a year. *MIA* deserves a place in this list because of its importance as a guide to research and data, and because it is edited by the indefatigable Henry Mayer, Professor of Political Theory at the University of Sydney, who was responsible for *APSA News* and *Politics* in earlier years, and maintained a valuable comprehensive review of 'Australiana' in the latter journal until the end of 1981. *MIA* carries short articles, many of which connect political science and the mass media, and a very large collection of 'media briefs', which detail items of news, research and opinion to do with aspects of Australian society that have a particular impact on or importance to the mass media – such as ethnic affairs, libraries, aborigines, technology, religion, and of course television, broadcasting and the press. Virtually all of these are important to political science, and the journal is a most important resource for the discipline.

These nine journals represent the main body of the discipline's local periodicals. *Political Science,* a New Zealand journal established in 1948, has carried many articles on Australian politics in the past, though it has become increasingly absorbed in the work of New Zealand political scientists. *The Melbourne Journal of Politics* is an annual production of the staff and senior students of the Department of Political Science at the University of Melbourne, and usually has one or two articles of high quality and wide interest. The *Current Affairs Bulletin,* published by the University of Sydney, has for many years provided authoritative short articles and comments on contemporary affairs, both domestic and foreign. The Department of Foreign Affairs provides a comparable service with its *Australian Foreign Affairs Record* (formerly *Current Notes).* Marxists and others on the left

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can choose between *Arena, Bowyang, Intervention, Dissent, The Journal of Australian Political Economy,* and *Thesis Eleven* as journals interested in publishing articles of a critical/theoretical kind. *The Journal of Religious History,* an Australian production, has published a number of articles on organised religion and party politics. *Labour History* is a well-established journal with a special interest in Australian union and Labour Party political history.

It should be noted that the Australian law journals are good sources for articles on constitutional and administrative law of interest to political scientists. *The Journal of Industrial Relations,* though published by another discipline, is a basic resource for many political scientists working in Australian politics. The economics journals, on the other hand, are relatively inaccessible, and have only occasionally published articles on politics and government. The philosophy journals are likewise restricted in their offerings.

6. Political Scientists and Political Life

The Constitution of the Australasian Political Studies Association states simply (Clause 2) that the aim of the Association 'is to promote the development of political studies'. Such a general aim could allow the Association to play a vigorous role in public affairs. In fact it has always adopted a low posture, and has rarely offered advice to the discipline, let alone to the nation. A motion put at the 1968 annual conference that APSA protest at Government proposals to modify the Commonwealth electoral laws was ruled out of order by the chairman, and APSA made no official comment on the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia, which was taking place during the Conference. There have been no sustained attempts to amend APSA's Constitution, and it can be reasonably assumed that political scientists prefer that APSA stay out of the politics of the real world.

Tatz and Starr comment that 'there has not been a strong tradition, of activism or commitment on social policies by Australian political scientists'. They go on to say that

> the general professional detachment of political scientists has resulted in their failure to make much worthwhile input into the resolution of many of the political and social problems of recent decades. Members of the discipline were not particularly visible during the anti-hanging, Vietnam, conscription, environmental, censorship, law reform and consitutional crisis debates. Nor were they noticeably conservative [1978: 16].

This 'professional detachment' is not peculiar to political scientists, but it is perhaps somewhat more marked among them than among, say, economists or sociologists in their spheres of public life. If that is true, the greater reluctance to become involved as *political scientists*[24] might flow from a belief that political science has few obvious remedies to offer: it is an analytical, descriptive discipline rather than a prescriptive one. This detachment is paradoxically as characteristic of the far left in the discipline as it is of the centre, for the Marxians, convinced of the critical state of this capitalist society, are little interested in suggesting remedies in such a late hour of a terminal disease.

No study has been made of the attitudes of Australian political scientists. But Tatz and Starr are probably right in suggesting that most of them are in the centre in politics. On balance they may seem more to the left of centre than to its right, but that probably depends on the circumstances (election, issue, policy) and is liable to change. Certainly there are few publicly confessed 'conservatives', even though there seems to be a swing back to conservative positions in Australia, as elsewhere; the Marxians are more numerous than the conservatives, but they still remain a small proportion of the discipline. Australian political science is likely to remain in the foreseeable future what it has been throughout its short history, an academic discipline which essentially supports the system of government in Australia, and within that context pursues a tradition of disinterested research and scholarship.

IV. THE AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE

The future of political science in Australia is in large measure a continuation of the present. We can expect continuing attention to the national politics and international relations of Australia's region. Work on Australia's government and politics will expand, become more sophisticated, reach a larger audience. Political theory will struggle for its proper role in a discipline highly empirical in its approach. Public administration will remain a staple element of political science if only because of the number and the reach of governments of Australia. Political scientists will remain at the edge of politics and government, as outsiders looking on, rather than as important players themselves – though no doubt one or two more will leave academe for Parliament. Nonetheless, it is clear that the discipline has a platter of problems. Some are professional, some intellectual.

1. The Professional Challenge.

The first is acceptance. There are still universities which have yet to establish a chair of political science. In only one State is political science an important part of the secondary school syllabus. Many colleges of advanced education do not offer it. Yet Australians are obliged by law to vote when they reach the age of 18 years, when many are still in school. There is still a suspicion of political science. Some find it a 'soft' or over-easy subject (in contradistinction to mathematics or physics); others dislike it because it raises difficult and inconvenient questions about the nature of authority, about the links between economic and political power, about vested interests, about duties, responsibilities and privileges – heady material to give to the young. Political science has already won some battles in this area, but there are more ahead.

Some sort of growth is urgently needed, because political science, like all university subjects, faces a future of constraint. The great expansion of the university system that began in the late 1960s ended abruptly in the mid-1970s partly for budgetary reasons and partly because a 'bulge' in the university-age population had finally passed through the system and out into the workforce. By 1981 staff numbers in most university departments were lower than they had been in 1975. Research and scholarship in the universities depend in part upon lively honours and postgraduate programmes, and these in turn depend on there being some prospect of jobs for successful graduates to go to. Since universities have almost stopped recruiting, the prospects of an academic career have now become slim indeed for those who begin honours or postgraduate research. Understandably, numbers in those programmes have tended to fall off, while there is some evidence that at the undergraduate level students are showing a preference for rather more vocationally-oriented subjects like accounting. In short, the younger members of the discipline often have acute fears for the future, and that is not a mode that encourages research and scholarship.

The shortage of funds affects political science directly, since research in the discipline costs more than people expect. Travel is a large cost item, especially travel abroad, and it can be expected to increase relative to other items. Survey research is expensive, and there will be greater need for surveys, especially of Australia's ethnic minorities. The very richness of the materials available to political scientists can be an embarrassment : the volume of data requires many hands to sort through newspaper files, archives, parliamentary papers and debates – and the cost of skilled research assistance grows ever larger. Like it or not, Australian political scientists will in the future have to be more active in the search for funds to support their research, or they will find that the research which needs to be done is beyond their reach for the most ordinary of reasons – lack of money.[25]

Finally, there is the challenge of distance. Australia's political scientists are widely dispersed, and attendance at the annual conference of APSA can be a financial burden for those without a departmental budget for travel. This is a problem common to all Australian scholars, but it is acute for political scientists because the federal system and the dispersal of population and power that goes along with it are particular objects of study for the discipline. Much possible research is not done simply because the appropriate colleagues live and work in cities thousands of miles apart, and the costs of communication are too high.

These professional challenges make the 1980s in particular a worrying rather than an encouraging decade to look forward to, and they provide a background to another set of tasks and challenges that flow from the nature of the discipline itself. They have been suggested in the preceding pages.

2. The Intellectual Challenge

The very scope of political science pushes its practitioners towards diversity. In the recent past the tendency was for a kind of benevolent chaos to flourish, as university expansion required the rapid creation of departments whose offering and research interests were to some extent accidental, a consequence of the exigencies of staff selection in a seller's market. In the 1980s it is likely that a sorting-out process will take place, with a closer attention to the core elements of the discipline and more debate about what they are, or might be.

At the same time, there will continue to be demands that the discipline display more 'relevance'. Since political scientists divide on the wisdom of others utilising their research, and divide quickly when the work is thought to be 'ideological', as much is, there will be no unanimous response to the cry for relevance. Yet the detachment of political science from the pressing concerns of contemporary

Australia must weaken, if only because policy studies of various kinds are likely to become more prominent both in teaching and research.

Two related challenges complete the agenda. The first is the failure of the discipline to come to terms with advances in mathematics, statistics and computing. The cause lies in the kind of education received by the great majority of those who finally become political scientists. This is an education which contains little mathematics training and emphasises literary rather than scientific skills. The fact that some silly or useless work has been masked by an assembly of numbers has tended to discredit the value of statistical techniques in the eyes of many political scientists. But if political science is to grow in power and professionalism it must continue to educate itself, especially in this area.

Yet, finally, the cost must not be a widening of the already large gap between theory and empirical research. The tendency of the discipline to throw off sub-fields which live their own life is most damaging where theoretical concerns become the concern of one group while empirical research goes on in a largely theory-free atmosphere. There is an inevitable tension between theory and research, and people trained in the one mode tend to remain there. But the best research and scholarship, it is right to say, make theory and data fuse in a satisfying way, so that the empirical research directs itself to a point of importance, and theory is subsequently modified. Australian social science has been set from the beginning in the empirical tradition, and political science has been that tradition's exemplar. The 1980s may be the decade in which Australian political scientists become adept in linking their empirical research to the large and growing world of political theory.

NOTES

In preparing this report I made extensive use of the work of the previous explorers of this world, Colin Tatz and Graeme Starr, whose 'Political Science in Australia' was prepared for the *Handbook of Contemporary World Political Science*, edited by William G. Andrews (New York, Greenwood Press, forthcoming). Their chapter is the basis for my 'Brief History', and is referred to on several occasions in the text; but even more important, it led me painlessly to earlier writings about the subject. I am most happy to acknowledge their assistance. Others who made important contributions were Gillian O'Loghlin, Colin Hughes, Don Rawson, Sue Elderton, and the several contributors to *A Survey of Australian Political Science*, which I have edited for the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia. I thank them all, and accept responsibility for those errors of fact and strange opinions which remain.

[1] The 1937 figures are my own estimate, the 1957 figures are from Crisp (1962: 26), and the 1977 figures are from Tatz and Starr (1978: Table 2).

[2] The 1937 estimate is my own. The 1957 figures came from 'Student Enrolments in Political Science', *AJPH*, Vol. IV No. 1, August 1958, p. 91, an appendix to a series of articles reporting the first Australian Political Studies Conference in Canberra, August 1957. The 1962 figures are from Crisp (1962: 26), and the 1977/78 figures from Tatz and Starr (1978: Table 4). The 1977/78 figures probably overstate the apparent increase in enrolments. In 1962 most universities offered full-year courses, while by the late 1970s half-year courses, of varying weight in their contribution to the final degree, were becoming the rule. The Honours-level numbers may be a better index of growth.

[3] These are the most recent published figures (Harman and Scott, 1974: 41-2); the 1982 levels are probably rather higher.

[4] I am indebted to Gillian O'Loghlin for the patient research work upon which these comparisons are based.

[5] This paragraph and the one following are based on Spann, 1955: 86-97. The quotation comes from p.90.

[6] 'Student Enrolments in Political Science', p.91.

[7] See Spann (1955) and the conference papers, published in *AJPH,* August 1958.

[8] In what follows I have adapted the example offered by Tatz and Starr (1978: 14) to 1982 course structures.

[9] The dismissal of the Labour Government by the Governor-General in 1975 revived interest among political scientists in many of these concerns. But the best analysis of this event and its implications has nonetheless been the work of lawyers.

[10] An Australian association of phenomenologists, for example, numbering only a dozen or so and covering most of the social sciences, manages to survive in this way. Most universities contain only one of its members. Newsletters are currently published in legislative studies, in policy studies, in political theory, in Soviet and East European studies, in women's studies, and in ethnic politics, to name six others.

[11] The Australian branch was re-named the Australian Institute of Public Administration in 1979.

[12] The result was a memorable academic compromise : the course was offered, but slightly retitled so that economists' sensibilities were soothed.

[13] Griffith University *Calendar,* 1982, p.144.

[14] In 1960, the Canberra University College was incorporated into the ANU, becoming its 'School of General Studies' and later (in 1980) 'The Faculties'; the rest of the University was described collectively as 'The Institute of Advanced Studies'. The result was that the University now had three departments of political science or international relations, and it added a fourth in 1978 with the establishment of a Department of Political and Social Change in the Research School of Pacific Studies.

[15] Tatz and Starr (1978: Table 4).

[16] It also has a continuing interest in the politics and government of the Soviet bloc, and has produced several students with Ph.Ds gained in this area.

[17] These comments come from my own examination of some 20 theses over the last 17 years, and much discussion over the same period with other examiners.

[18] Among them Jones (1970), Rowley (1970, 1971 and 1971a), Gale (1972), Martin (1972), Wilson (1973) and Price (1975).

[19] The best-known case is Professor R.S. Parker's appointment to the Prime Minister's Committee of Inquiry into Commonwealth Public Service Recruitment (the Boyer Committee) 1957-58. Colin Hughes and D.W. Rawson served as Electoral Commissioners for Queensland and Victoria respectively in 1974-5; Hughes had earlier served as an Electoral Commissioner for the Australian Capital Territory in 1973.

[20] See, for example, Caiden (1965, 1967), Wettenhall (1967, 1968), Subramaniam (1971), Parker and Subramaniam (1964), Corbett (1965), Schaffer and Corbett (1965).

[21] Most recently in a *Festschrift* issue of the *Australian Journal of Public Administration,* Vol. XXXIX, Nos. 3-4, September-December 1981, pp.263-555 (also released as a book: G.R. Curnow and R.L. Wettenhall (eds), *Understanding Public Administration),* which contains complete bibliographies for each.

[22] Hawker, Smith and Weller (1979), Hawker (1981), Weller and Grattan (1981), Weller and Cutt (1976), Smith and Weller (1976, 1978).

[23] These judgments, and similar comparisons in succeeding paragraphs come from my own 'Australian Political Studies in the Journals : 1959-1978', a paper presented to the 21st Annual Conference of APSA, in Hobart, 1979.

[24] Several recent official enquiries – into the constitution of upper houses, electoral systems, government administration, conflicts of interest, and the like – have drawn submissions by political scientists; such submissions are often invited. In these situations academics are appearing as experts, and no doubt they would respond happily if there were more such enquiries. But on the whole they are reluctant to be drawn into public controversy. The ruling tradition is that academic political scientists publish in their own journals and books, and discuss matters in their own conferences and seminars. If the world outside takes notice and profits thereby, well and good; but that is not the motive for academic work.

[25] These matters are discussed in detail in my article 'Research and Politics', *Politics,* Vol. XVI No. 7, May 1981 (Presidential Address, 1980 APSA Conference) pp. 1-6.

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ELEVEN

NEW ZEALAND: *W.T. Roy*

I. A BRIEF HISTORY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand has one outstanding characteristic that has affected all developments that have taken place there whether in the academic sphere or elsewhere, and that characteristic is remoteness. Indeed, New Zealanders have been so conscious of this that it colours much of their thinking (Sinclair, 1961) and the development of the discipline of political science is no exception as will shortly become evident. However, remoteness notwithstanding, there is another and very curious compensating characteristic of this country and its inhabitants. Having been colonised almost exclusively by immigrants of British stock, superimposed on a small indigenous population of Maoris, New Zealanders, until very recently, thought and behaved as if they lived on an off-shore island of Britain instead of being twelve thousand miles distant in the Antipodes! Hence it is chiefly to Britain and British models that New Zealand academics have turned habitually for inspiration. Since political science is very much a child of the North American academic system, and existed in British universities, before the Second World War, only in such guises as political philosophy and economy, constitutional law and diplomatic history, it is not surprising to find that the discipline is a very late comer to the New Zealand academic scene. Indeed, for practical purposes the period of growth of the discipline dates from 1945. It is true that universities that might have hosted it earlier had long been in existance, but, during the long period from 1870 to 1961, when they existed collectively as the federal University of New Zealand, the University Calendar listed only two courses taught in constituent colleges by the departments of History and Philosophy respectively, and these were in political philosophy and political economy. The appointment of Professor Hight in 1920 to the Chair of History at Canterbury University College contained a proviso that the position included political science, but that remained an unimplemented aspect of the joint discipline. What eventually triggered off the development of political science in New Zealand were two quite different factors — and neither of them was academic.

The first was the growth of a large public service, which led to the founding of an Institute of Public Administration based in the capital — Wellington. This led in the 1930's to a demand by senior public servants for a course in public administration, and to fulfil this demand and give respectability to the course they turned to the Victoria University College of Wellington. While the founding of a department of public administration catering for public servants was under discussion, a strong plea was made for extending the scope of the department. This came from no less a protagonist than J. C. Beaglehole later to be recognised as the doyen of New Zealand historians and awarded the Order of Merit for, among other things, his definitive work on Captain Cook. This plea was in the form of a pamphlet entitled

A School of Political Studies and published in 1938 by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington. The consequence was that, when the department of public administration was set up in 1939, it included political science, and its first director was given the title of Professor of Political Science. The incumbent was Leslie Lipson – a wise choice indeed, since he was a graduate both of Oxford and of Chicago, thus combining the two academic traditions of history and political science. Lipson produced a notable pioneering work analysing New Zealand politics (Lipson, 1948) after he left for the United States in 1946. The only other political work of note to appear about this time was one commissioned by the Department of Internal Affairs in 1940 to commemorate the centenary of the founding of New Zealand as a Crown Colony (Webb, 1940).

The second factor that gave a fillip to the teaching of political science was the ending of the Second World War in 1945 and the dawning in New Zealand of a new sense of independent nationhood. It was not until 1947 (the same year that saw the birth of the Indian nations) that New Zealand finally ratified the Statute of Westminster (1931) and achieved sovereign status. Out of this arose both the desire and the necessity to study her own political structure and process, and in due course this led to a burgeoning of political science in the existing seats of learning, though there was to be quite an interval before established departments were created in universities.

During the war courses in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration had been suspended, hence there had been no time to build up traditions of teaching or to produce a body of research. In any case, with the exception of Lipson himself, appointees to positions had not been academically trained political scientists, but public servants, who had successfully completed the postgraduate Diploma in Public Administration, the need for which had been the cause of the Department being founded in the first place. However, when the Department resumed operations in 1946 it expanded fairly rapidly and, under the new name of the School of Political Science and Public Administration, recruited political scientists to staff it. Initially these had perforce to be British or Americans, but it was not long before the system was producing its own post-graduate scholars, some of whom were reabsorbed by it. Nevertheless for over fifteen years Victoria University College (as it then was) was the sole focus of the discipline in New Zealand. Fortunately, being located in the capital – Wellington, it had plenty of material accessible to generate research and also attracted foreign scholars interested in examining the politics of a pioneer welfare state. Further, this focus also provided two convenient outlets for the publication of research articles. The first was the journal *Public Administration* founded in 1940 by the Institute of Public Administration, and the second was the *Journal of Political Science* founded in 1948 by the Political Science Society based on the School, which soon assumed responsibility for its publication.

The delay in the proliferation of departments of political science, despite the acknowledged need for them, can be attributed to two factors. The first was the federal nature of the University of New Zealand and the second was the relatively limited size of university populations and funding. Both these handicaps were rectified in the 1960s. A committee set up by the Minister of Education to make an enquiry into and report upon university teaching and administration in New Zealand carried out this task during 1959 under the able chairmanship of Sir David Parry — a distinguished British academic. The Parry Report (as it is familiarly known) appeared in 1960 and made sweeping recommendations on several aspects of universities in New Zealand. Its most important recommendations concerned the autonomy of the University Colleges composing the federal University of New Zealand, and the urgent need for an expansion in staffing and improvement in the conditions of employment. The latter recommendation proceeded from the Committee's study of population projections and a survey of New Zealand's need for an adequate supply of graduates. Fortunately the Parry Report did not meet the same fate as so many of its kind. Instead, the government of the day took it seriously and implemented a number of its recommendations with gratifying speed. Thus, following the disestablishment of the University of New Zealand in 1961, the autonomous Universities of Auckland, (Auckland), Victoria (Wellington), Canterbury (Christchurch) and Otago (Dunedin) came into existence. They were followed shortly afterwards by the up-grading of the agricultural college already existing in Palmerston North to university status, with the name of Massey University. Shortly also an existing Branch University College of Auckland, located in Hamilton, about 84 miles south of Auckland in the midst of a populous and prosperous community, became Waikato University in 1963. At the same time staff recruitment took place in all six centres on a scale designed to be able to cope with the post-war "baby boom" of the 1940s just as it reached the universities, thus supplying them with the population to meet New Zealand's need for an expanded supply of graduates. So, not only did these institutions enjoy a newfound autonomy and prosperity in the 1960s, which enabled them to expand and diversify existing disciplines, but also it encouraged them to found new departments and fund new Chairs and lecturing positions. Among the departments to thus appear on the New Zealand university scene were four new ones of political science, though curiously they do not all go by that name. Indeed Canterbury alone uses the name Political Science for the department it established in 1963, while Auckland (1964) and Otago (1966) named theirs Departments of Political Studies, while Waikato, which was established in a pattern of Schools had a joint Department of Politics and Sociology from 1964 to 1969 following which they became separate entities and the name Politics remains attached to the department that emerged in 1970. Of course Victoria, as the founding university of the discipline, retains the name of Political Science and Public Administration. Massey alone has not created a department since it developed primarily as an institution specializing in agricultural and veterinary science and food technology. Of course it does have liberal arts and social sciences and some of the history courses have a political content.

1. Staff and Student Numbers

Having been established literally from scratch (with the exception of course of the department at Victoria University of Wellington) departments of political science have grown quite fast and apparently unevenly. On closer examination it becomes clear that staff numbers in any given case are a function of student numbers. However, student numbers are not necessarily a function of local population, since the New Zealand university system has always been characterized by ease of entrance and quite generous subsidies with respect to fees for students who perform competently. Hence there tends to be a degree of student mobility between centres not readily duplicated in most other countries. Nevertheless the sizes of university populations in terms of total student numbers does bear some relation to the size of the urban centre where they happen to be located. Approximate total rolls in 1982 and in order of magnitude are as follows:

Auckland	12450
Canterbury	7455
Otago	6672
Victoria	6498
Waikato	3559

(*Note:* With the exception of Waikato, which has only one vocational department – Management Studies – all the othersboast various vocational offerings – Law, Medicine, Dentistry, Engineering, Mining, etc. which tend to attract students and therefore boost the rolls.)

The total student numbers enrolled in political science courses are best noted in terms of student courses at the undergraduate level since most students are studying in other disciplines at the same time. Graduate students are usually full time.

University	*Undergraduate student courses*			*Postgraduate students*	
	Stage I	*Stage II*	*Stage III*	*BA Hons & MA*	*Doctoral*
Auckland	899	320	260	26	6
Victoria	831	396	260	95	6
Canterbury	500	278	106	20	N.A.
Waikato	305	281	150	9	2
Otago	246	97	70	13	1

To teach these courses staff numbers and rankings are as follows, again placed in order of magnitude.

University	*Professor*	*Assoc. Prof. or Reader*	*Senior Lecturer*	*Lecturer*	*TOTAL*
Victoria	2	2	8	2	14
Auckland	1	3	5	1	10
Christchurch	1	0	6	1	8
Waikato	1	1	3	2	7
Otago	2	1	1	2	6

This gives a total of 45 teachers of political science in the whole country. It does not take into account occasional limited term appointments of Junior Lecturers or Teaching Assistants since both are devices largely intended to provide very modest financial help for students reading for higher degrees e.g. M.Phil. or Ph.D. It should be stated here that, unlike Australia, there are no Colleges of Advanced Education in New Zealand offering courses in political science, nor is this function carried out by the few Community Colleges that exist in smaller urban centres (Whangarei, Gisborne, Rotorua), or by Technical Institutes, though the Departments of University Extension do sometimes run non-credit courses, largely of a 'current affairs' nature, taught as a rule by members of one or another political science faculty. Further, in a seemingly frantic attempt to prevent unwelcome alien ideologies (e.g. Marxism) infiltrating the secondary schools system, no classes even in elementary civics exist at that level, though occasionally some enthusiastic teacher of pre-university Seventh Forms contrives to work some political content into Liberal Studies courses. In sum then the teaching of political science can hardly be regarded as a widespread national phenomenon in New Zealand but remains restricted to its universities.

2. Relations with other university disciplines

Since Political Science emerged in New Zealand in company with other social sciences, that also had been virtually absent from the pre-1961 university system, it tends to have informal links with some of them, in particular with Sociology, Anthropology and Economics, and also to a lesser extent with Psychology. By a curious accident of initial appointments a stronger than usual link with History exists in at least two universities (Auckland and Waikato), where the two foundation professors are both redeployed historians. Further all political science staffs harbour one or more historians, though most recent appointments have been of formally trained political scientists. Nevertheless there is no evidence up to the present that consciously cross-disciplinary trends are emerging, unless the somewhat shadowy presence of Political Sociology can be thus described. The emphasis of courses at all levels will be examined in the next chapter and this may provide the reader with some clues about current developments and future trends. For the present let it suffice to say that Political Science is now a fully established discipline in its own right, and as the foregoing tables indicate of no mean stature. It would be a difficult exercise to chart its rate of growth, but it can be said with confidence that it has experienced a steady rise in enrolments wherever it is taught in New Zealand universities. This is in marked contradistinction to more established social sciences such as Geography and Economics or such hardy traditional subjects as European Languages which actually have experienced a decline. It seems then that though a latecomer to the academic scene in New Zealand the appearance of Political Science could hardly have proved more timely.

II. MAJOR TRENDS IN TEACHING AND RESEARCH

1. Teaching

Degree Structures

Notwithstanding their comparative youth, all departments of Political Science in New Zealand have long since extended their teaching to all levels. A New Zealand undergraduate first degree usually takes three years to complete, and customarily consists of a single Major in the third year with two Minors at second year level and a scatter of first year options to make up a total of 22 to 24 courses. A double Major at undergraduate level is also possible usually at the cost of sacrificing one of the supporting Minors. Political Science fits into this pattern quite neatly, and it is customary for a student majoring in the discipline at undergraduate level to take two courses at Stage I and at least three courses at each of the following Stages II and III. Supporting Minors tend to be selected from Sociology, History, Geography, Economics and Psychology, though there is not the slightest bar to a student seeking a B.A. from combining Political Science with any of the usual Humanities subjects such as English and Languages, or with a course in Management Studies. Indeed, at Victoria University the Bachelor of Commerce and Administration (B.C.A.) has a mandatory component of Political Science. At Waikato University, where disciplines are gathered into Schools of Humanities, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Education and Management Studies, it is possible to read for a Political Science major either in Humanities, where the degree attained is a B.A., or in Social Sciences, where the degree is a B.Soc.Sci. In the latter case the granting of the degree is conditional on the candidate having successfully completed a course in elementary Mathematics/ Statistics or one on Social Science Research Techniques or preferably both. Further Political Science may be a minor component of a first degree in any of the other schools including the Natural Sciences.

Following a first degree a student may proceed either to a B.A. (Honours) or an M.A. degree. The former usually takes a single year, but can be converted to an M.A. course by extending studies for a second year. (*Note:* In Otago University B.A. (Hons.) is known as a Post-Graduate Diploma in Political Studies, but nevertheless leads on to an M.A. in the same way, if the holder so desires.) Masters degrees are usually obtained by taking a series of papers over two years, or by papers and a thesis, or – in the case of those holding B.A. (Hons.) degrees of sufficient promise – by thesis alone. At Victoria University, where, as already stated, there are strong links with management studies (there known as the Department of Commerce and Administration), it is possible for a student to specialise in Public Administration and emerge with either an M.A. or an M.C.A. The same result is also obtainable by a student taking Political Science (as distinct from Public Administration) at this level, provided that in the case of an M.C.A. he or she has sufficient supporting courses in B.C.A. subjects. Victoria University is unique in other ways as well. Building on its early antecedents as the initiator of university studies in Public Administration leading to a Diploma in Public Administration (said by some to be the guinea stamp required for public servants with pretensions to stardom!), it has now replaced that Diploma with a Master of Public Policy degree, which has achieved a prestigious reputation. Further, Victoria University offers the only graduate courses in New Zealand leading specifically to a B.A. (Hons.) or an M.A. in International Politics. During the early stages of its growth Waikato University had provisions for students of promise to be extracted from the main stream of studies to pursue a particularly rigorous course of four years, culminating in a final year which required them to sit for four papers and produce a dissertation – this was the B. Phil., and clearly based on the Oxford model. However the course proved so daunting that only two candidates ever succeeded in completing it in Political Science, and eventually it was abandoned in favour of standard practices.

Post-graduate studies in the true sense of the term i.e. research studies (perhaps with a small component of qualifying examination) leading to a Doctoral qualification are available at all five universities teaching political science, and each of them has had some successful entrants. Waikato University alone has an intermediate post-graduate degree – an M.Phil. This is in no way a failed D.Phil., but attracts a few candidates, who see no vocational advantage in pursuing doctoral studies, when a perfectly respectable post-graduate degree (with equivalents elsewhere, particularly in Britain) can be obtained by successfully sitting for two papers and completing a thesis. Perhaps, the proof of this pudding is that the present (1982) leader of the Social Credit League in New Zealand, whose party holds the balance of power in Parliament, is a holder of this degree.

Undergraduate and Graduate Courses and Trends

Courses

As in any discipline, Political Science has its bread-and-butter lines and, with a few variations in nomenclature these fall into four readily identifialbe categories – Political Thought (whether labelled Philosophy or Theory), Comparative Government (which includes study of the political process in a given milieu), Public Administration, and International Politics (which includes both Foreign Policy – as a facet of Comparative Government, with emphasis on a specific state – and International Relations, with emphases that may range from a given region to the entire globe). In addition to these, which are taught at all five New Zealand universities, which have departments of Political Science, there are important sub-disciplines such as Political Sociology and Political Psychology and of course such indispensable ancillaries as courses in mathematical and/or statistical analysis of data and in research techniques particularly appropriate to the social sciences in general and Political Science in particular. These last-named methodological handmaidens of Political Science have not received in New Zealand the recognition given to them in North America, or even in a rather conservative Britain, which tends to regard the hard-nosed quantification attendant on the 'Science' component of the term "Political Science' as smacking of the vulgarity of the market-place in contradistinction with the refined cerebrations that are supposed to occur in the ivory towers of learning. In the case of New Zealand this timorousness in grasping the nettle of quantification may arise from our over-orientations towards British models as they once were but are diminishingly so. Alternatively this weakness may be attributed to the fact that staff appointments have not followed any predetermined pattern, which included a well defined slot for a person trained in scientific method and up-to-date techniques of quantification, thus leaving a gap not readily filled by some well-meaning but untrained amateur.

One might reasonably suppose that, with such a small number of institutions teaching Political Science, there would have been some sort of agreement long since on a sharing of specializations, particularly at the graduate level. Instead, all five departments offer a surprisingly wide range of variations within the boundaries of the four main streams previously identified and their ancillaries. If anything, such emphasis as can be detected arises from the preferences of the departmental

Chairmen, balanced by the interests of the teaching staffs, which usually reflect their respective areas of research.

The number of courses offered at each level are shown in tabular form below for convenience of comparison of magnitude of these offerings, though not of their content concerning which some comment follows.

University	*Stage I*	*Stage II*	*Stage III*	*Graduate*
Victoria	2	12	22	18#
Auckland	6*	10**	8	12
Canterbury	1±	6	7	12
Otago	2	6	6	10
Waikato	3	10	8	10

#Includes M.C.A. and M.A. (International Politics)

*Includes 2 courses in Asian Politics

**Includes 3 courses in Asian Politics

±This course is the equivalent of two at other centres and includes both Political Thought and Comparative Government (New Zealand and Japan)

i) Undergraduate Courses

The First Year offerings uniformly include Political Thought and Comparative Government – usually New Zealand – though Auckland starts with the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and postpones treatment of New Zealand to the Second Year and later. Further, Auckland has two special courses in Asian Politics at this level *China since 1948* and *Armies and Politics in Burma, Thailand and Vietnem.* Waikato alone introduces International Relations at this stage.

At the Second Year level greater diversification is evident. There are in all cases two courses in Political Thought and four in Comparative Government. At Victoria these include two in the Asian area, while Auckland advances its First Year offering in this field with three more courses *Malaysia and Singapore, Indonesia* and *Japan.* All centres introduce Public Administration at this level with the exception of Auckland, which has a course on *Central and Local Government* as one of the six offered in the First Year and then revives this theme at Graduate level. Again International Politics appears at each centre and continues at Waikato. Victoria and Waikato alone offer courses in analysis of data and research methodology at this level.

Third Year offerings continue the main streams of Political Thought, Comparative Government, International Politics and Public Administration (the last at Victoria and Waikato). However, it is at this level that the size of Victoria enables it to make a number of variations not possible for the other centres, with smaller staffs and student rolls. Its wide range of eight courses in Comparative Government include three in the Asian field, which was previously represented in the Second Year by two courses. Political Sociology also appears, though this is also offered at Auckland, Canterbury and Waikato at this level. Finally Political Psychology is included at both Victoria and Auckland.

The themes of courses in Political Thought, Public Administration and International Politics do not vary very much between one centre and another. However, an analysis of the areas selected for inclusion in the Comparative Government stream produces a result that is all the more interesting because it does not appear to derive at all from any conscious collaboration between the department. This conclusion is that, while New Zealand naturally figures prominently (as is only proper) it is the states bordering the Pacific that are most consistently studied. The U.S.A. of course is ever present among the options, and Latin America figures at Waikato and Otago, but quite clearly the heaviest emphasis is on China, Japan and the ASEAN states, in particular Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. The once-important 'mother country' – the United Kingdom – receives little special attention excepting in one Second Year course in Auckland, and European states figure not at all excepting in the context of studies in integration (Auckland and Waikato). Soviet Russia figures, not so much as a state but as the focal point of government based on Marxist-Leninist theories and also as a major actor in International Politics. Both Canterbury and Waikato feature Middle East themes. Auckland alone deals with Scandinavia at Part II and this is probably the result of an historical accident by which, in more affluent times, an endowment was made by some interested party to foster Scandinavian studies at Auckland University.

ii) Graduate Courses

As far as Graduate courses go i.e. those available for B.A. (Hons.) M.A. and (at Victoria) M.C.A., it can readily be seen that they reflect in most cases the research and area interests of the staff offering them. Hence the curious phenomenon that in all cases, excepting Victoria (where they match Third Year courses in number) Graduate courses are offered in greater number and profusion than their forerunners at all lower levels. Of course this is modified by the fact that, though each centre lists all possible options it has to offer at this level, this does not mean that the full range is available every year, since staff study leave patterns at each centre ensure that there is usually somebody away with the consequence that a particular option cannot be offered until he/she returns. Of course the categories into which Graduate courses can be classified follow closely the four main streams existing at the undergraduate level.

iii) Trends in Teaching

Following from what has been said in the two previous sections, it seems that the search for trends, in the sense of new and forward looking directions or even fashions, is likely to produce few definitive conclusions. On the other hand if the term is taken to include established conventions of emphasis on themes and areas and the likelihood of these continuing in the foreseeable future, then it is clear that there already exist certain readily identifiable emphases in each major area. In

Political Thought the classical British tradition prevails in the sense that European thinkers form Plato to the present prevail, completely overshadowing their American counterparts and totally excluding Indian thinkers such as Kautilya and their Chinese counterparts – although the *Arthashastra* and the *Book of the Lord Shang* may be found on the shelves of university libraries, they are seldom if ever cited by way of comparison. In somewhat compensatory kind, however, the emphasis on the Asia Pacific area in Comparative Government offerings has been noted and this is likely to continue. In fact, it appears to be receiving reinforcement from the phenomenon that more and more New Zealand political scientists on study leave tend to spend all or part of their time in various Asian locations, instead of heading for Britain or the U.S.A. as once was customary among the practitioners of associated social science disciplines. Again this trend in area emphasis is repeated in the field of International Politics and in particular studies in the Foreign Policies of Asian states. This of course is not to say that the more general aspects of global power structure featuring models of international relations and conflict resolution are not ubiquitously present. Lastly, in Public Adminstration apart from the basic groundwork in Weberian bureaucratic theory, considerable topical emphasis is placed on the teaching and study of Public Administration in New Zealand at both central and local levels. As an addendum it should be mentioned here that Political Sociology is also taught with a strong emphasis on local applications particularly relating to social class, electoral behaviours and the politics of the main ethnic minority – the Maoris of New Zealand.

2. Research

Emphases and Omissions

Before the advent of political science on the New Zealand academic scene such investigation and comment as existed originated with visitors form Western Europe. Samuel Butler's *Erewhon* comes to mind, but also the works of such eminent scholars as Andre Siegfried and Lord Bryce, who were attracted by New Zealand experiments in the prototypes of welfare state legislation during the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries. The pioneer descriptive work of Webb (Webb, 1940) and Lipson's combination of historical and political scientific method (Lipson, 1948) remained unchallenged for many years. Indeed, the failure of a general work on the New Zealand political system to appear during the period extending from 1948 to 1979 remains inexplicable. However, this gap was closed in 1979 by the very nearly simultaneous publication in that year of two general texts – (Cleveland, 1979), and (Levine, 1979). The latter is rather more historical, descriptive and institutional in tone, as befits the British tradition of its author's training, in comparison to the perceptible American influence in the second work, which likewise reflects the tradition in which its author was trained.

The fact that New Zealand lacks a written constitution has deprived its political scientists of a field of reasearch that has proved very fruitful in other states. Nevertheless the political institutions of New Zealand have come in for a measure of attention. *The New Zealand Constitution* (Scott, 1962) is a convenient compendium of description and comment on laws and practices. Of course some of this material reappears in an updated version in the works already mentioned – (Cleveland, 1979) and (Levine, 1979). The institution of Parliament has come in for some scrutiny, though not nearly as much as one might expect. Mitchell examined the working of that peculiarly New Zealand convention – the parliamentary caucus (Mitchell, 1969); the need for such proposed reforms as a bill of rights or the reconstitution of a second chamber were investigated by Victoria University political scientists (Cleveland and Robinson, 1972) and the reform of Parliament – including these themes in a book edited by a distinguished New Zealand politician and former Prime Minister (Sir John Marshall, 1978). However little has been done in researching the House of Representatives itself, although the defunct Legislative Council (once the Upper House) has been thoroughly examined and analysed (Jackson, 1972). The role of the backbencher in the formation of public policy has attracted a solitary researcher (Kelson, 1964) but otherwise no investigation of legislative behaviour exists.

New Zealand's party system has long been characterized by the existence of two highly disciplined and therefore rather rigid parties. These were investigated in a definitive work (Milne, 1966) with respect to their structure and activities. Apart from this general study there are several investigations of the Labour Party (Brown, 1962; Goldstein and Alley, 1975; Hobbs, 1967) but astonishingly nothing comparable exists concerning the National Party, though it has been in office for far longer periods than its rival during the three decades that have elapsed since it first gained power in 1950.

Political biography dealing with outstanding figures has been comparatively prolific, but it has to be admitted that a good deal of this *genre* is the product of political figures themselves rather than the work of investigatory political scientists. Further, in the main these tend to be rather more historical in approach than politically analytical, though they remain useful sources of information for future researchers. Some of the figures thus recorded are (not in chronological order) Beetham (Bryant, 1981); Seddon (Drummond, 1906); Kirk (Garnier, 1978); Rowling (Henderson, 1981); Ward (Loughnan, 1929); Nash (Sinclair, 1976); Fraser (Thorn, 1972); and several others. Before leaving this theme mention must be made of the autobiographical works of the current Prime Minister (Muldoon, 1974, 1977) and of the prolific output of the stormy petrel of the Labour Party – the late John A. Lee (Lee, 1938, 1963, 1965, 1973, 1981), whose political biography by a political scientist also appeared fairly recently (Olssen, 1977).

Public Administration has come in for a fair share of attention from political scientists and also from its practitioners. Following the seminal work already mentioned (Lipson, 1948), there is the work of a senior administrator, who also lectured on Public Administration at Victoria University (Polaschek, 1958), which remains the only general work on the topic. Then there is a substantial work on local government edited by the late Head of the School of Political Science and Public Administration at Victoria – R. H. Brookes (Betts, 1970), and a more recent treatment is by Bush (Bush, 1980). The institution of the Parliamentary Commissioner or Ombudsman as a guarantor of administrative justice has been investigated by a visiting American political scientist (Hill, 1976) and another of his countrymen has made the only investigation of mid-level administrators which employed a quantifying method (Smith, 1974). The existence of the New Zealand Institute of Public Administration and a *Journal of Public Administration* (recently re-entitled *Public Sector)* has contributed considerably to investigation and writing in this area, though not necessarily by political scientists. By providing a forum, in the form of an annual conference on a set theme – bureaucratic specialization, decentralization, local government etc. – and a venue in the published proceedings, the Institute of Public Administration has provided a valuable service and resource for present and future political scientists. For example see Angus (Angus, 1959).

The sub-discipline of Political Sociology has produced significant studies of electoral behaviour – indeed psephology, as it is called, has many adherents among New Zealand political scientists, who have investigated elections and electoral behaviour at both national and constituency levels. Not all investigators are trained political scientists or practising teachers of the discipline, and the degree of quantification used varies widely. Examples of such electoral studies are (Boswell, 1981); (Chapman, Jackson and Mitchell, 1962); (Garnier and Levine, 1981); (McRobie and Roberts, 1978). Again the methods of Political Sociology have been used in investigating the role of pressure groups in New Zealand (Cleveland, 1972), (Grant, 1975); (May, 1975) and mention must be also be made of an unquantified work by a political scientist, which displays considerable insights into political behaviour of New Zealanders (Mitchell, 1966).

International Politics has received a good deal of attention and produced several book length studies, not all of them by political scientists nor even always by New Zealanders. For example, an early study of New Zealand's external relationships by a distinguished historian F. L. W. Wood *New Zealand in the World* (Wellington, 1940) was followed by his study of New Zealand's wartime policies (Wood, 1958). An American political scientist shortly after commented on her *Pacific role* (Gordon, 1960). A more recent contribution by a New Zealand political scientist, who nevertheless takes the approach of a diplomatic historian covers New Zealand foreign policy from 1951 to 1971 (Kennaway, 1972). Again, as with Public Administration, the existence of a long-standing and lively New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, with its own bi-monthly journal *New Zealand International Review* has provided an outlet for debate, investigation and publication about appropriate themes. Nevertheless, most of the approaches to International Politics do not invoke quantification, systems theory or the like.

Two additional areas in which research has taken place, and which show a tendency to be increasingly popular among political scientists as well as others in associated disciplines such as Sociology, are the relatively new specializations concerned with ethnic minorities and with the role of women in politics. Curiously the motivations for research in these fields arise from similar sources. In both cases New Zealand legislation was originally well in advance of its counterpart concerning similar subjects in every other part of the world.

The enfranchisement of Maoris and of the women in New Zealand has long been a part of the political scene. Further, Maoris have four reserved seats in Parliament, and are the subject of considerable protective (if somewhat paternalistic) legislation in respect of such matters as land rights and alienability. It would seem unlikely therefore that these two sectors of New Zealand society should feel particularly disadvantaged, and therefore motivated to seek redress through organised political activity. However, this is exactly what has happened during the last decade or so, and quite strongly militant movements – albeit hitherto with minority support – have emerged in both groups. This of course has attracted researchers, sometimes from motives that are polemic rather than scholarly, but nevertheless easily explained. To date, though, not much has appeared in the form of books. The major work on Maoris in politics (Pocock, 1963) has not yet been updated excepting in anthropological guise (Metge, 1976) or as a study of Maori committees, which have mainly cultural orientations, but nevertheless exhibit strong political overtones because of the importance of collective land ownership in Maori society (Stokes, 1978). A strong and persistent women's liberation movement, that had its beginnings during the late sixties and early seventies, has produced a militant group called the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) and, since many of its members are university graduates, though not necessarily in Political Science, has encouraged research (Grant, 1975); (Grimshaw, 1975), and clearly there is a good deal more on the topic already in the pipeline.

Major gaps are apparent in all the areas discussed above. For instance there is no investigation of the decision making process excepting for a recent work attacking the growth of executive power (Palmer, 1979). The main areas of neglect lie in the field of Political Thought, where no book has appeared, and in Comparative Government. In the latter an absolutely astonishing missing piece is Australia – New Zealand's largest and nearest neighbour. Only Auckland teaches a single graduate course on the topic, and the only reference to it in research writings is an occasional article about trade or defence relations. One cannot help but add here that this neglect is absolutely reciprocal – nowhere in Australia's many universities does New Zealand figure in their political science syllabi.

Informal Political Emphasis

Hitherto this report has been concerned almost exclusively with professional and academic research trends and their consequent productions in the form of books. However, it would be quite improper not to draw attention to the fact that New Zealand boasts an unusually high rate of consumption of printed matter, not only newspapers, but in the form of a host of journals. Consequently, there exist a number of outlets for those, whether political scientists or not, who feel inclined to burst into print – whether polemically or to present reasoned analysis and comment. The properly academic journals are *Political Science* and the *Journal of Public Administration* (now *Public Sector*), but there also exist such eminent ones as *Comment* (a New Zealand quarterly review) or *Pacific Viewpoint,* which is produced by the Geography Department of Victoria University, the *New Zealand Economist* (now the *New Zealand Financial Review*) and many others, each of which is prepared to print articles with a political bias. To these of course must be added the *New Zealand International Review,* produced by the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, with headquarters in Wellington and close links of long standing with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the one hand and Victoria University on the other. Again the *New Zealand Journal of Local Government,* though primarily concerned with the technicalities of running local bodies such as Municipalities and Town or Borough Councils, carries much material. Finally, the weekly publication of the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation – *The New Zealand Listener* – is a lively forum indeed, to judge by its frequent inclusion of political articles albeit mainly by journalists.

Though not amounting to a rigorous exercise in content analysis, a recent attempt by two Waikato graduate students to cull and classify articles of a clearly political bent appearing over the last ten years, i.e. from 1970 to 1980 produced some interesting results, which may yet merit closer examination and become a research project in its own right. In brief then, the areas in which the largest number of articles appeared were those of Local Government and Women's Studies (a deceptively loose term since almost anything in this area appears to have some political implications). This was followed by International Politics in the specific form of New Zealand Foreign Policy. Considerable emphasis on New Zealand Aid schemes as a component of its external relations with neighbouring countries seemed to go in tandem with political relations proper. Area emphases in the latter area were the European Economic Community (which poses a grave danger to exports of New Zealand dairy products ever since Britain became a member), Australia, with which New Zealand has a longstanding love/hate relationship in the field of economic relations, and, somewhat curiously, the People's Republic of China. There followed in roughly equal order of importance various issues of Public Administration at the national level, Maori politics including militant organisations and their objectives, and Electoral matters. Recent election results have led to a growing interest in Proportional Representation in one or other of its forms as an alternative to the current and well-established Simple Majoritarian system. Last, but equal, were Human Rights and Sport in Politics. The former is readily explained by the presence in New Zealand of a highly articulate citizen body called the Council for Civil Liberties and a newly established Human Rights Commission, with a mandate to examine alleged violations of those rather nebulous but important bulwarks of democracy. The latter will need a little explanation to anybody not familiar with New Zealand culture, a central feature of which is an almost idolatrous fascination with Rugby Football. This in itself would scarcely merit any political interest, were it not for the fact that a traditional opponent in this sport is the Republic of South Africa, whose *apartheid* politicies have made it internationally something of a moral leper. Hence, New Zealand's rugby fans' insistence that sport is separate from politics, the reluctance of an elected government to put itself in jeopardy with a rugby loving electorate, by banning this sporting contact, and the existence of a small but well organised and highly vociferous anti-apartheid movement in New Zealand, has made Sport a highly topical political subject indeed, and one that is likely to remain so. It must be remembered in conclusion here that, though many, if not most, of the contributions referred to are made by members of the public, journalists, the executives of sporting bodies and so on, yet quite a number of these articles also flow from the pens of practising political scientists or at least persons trained in the discipline but employed in a variety of occupations in both public and private sectors of the New Zealand economy.

III. THE STATE AND PROBLEMS OF THE PROFESSION

Since Political Science has had a comparatively brief career on the New Zealand academic scene, it is hardly surprising to find that most of its practitioners are employed in five out of the six universities in the country and these too constitute a mere handful – fortyfive in all – with little prospect of significant expansion in the foreseeable future as will be made plain in the concluding portion of this report. Of course this is not to say that graduate or even post-graduate products of the profession do not employ the academic skills they have acquired, since they occupy a wide variety of positions in both the public and the private sector, but not as political scientists *per se.* Hence it is proper first to make a brief survey of the little band that represent the profession of political science in New Zealand.

1. Educational Backgrounds

It has already been pointed out that New Zealand has an almost ludicrously British tradition in many, if not most, aspects of its culture and this includes its academic world. On the other hand it is equally clear that, as in the case of the natural sciences, Political Science has developed most rapidly during this century in the U.S.A. Hence it is hardly surprising to find that those staff of the five existing departments, who have foreign post-graduate qualifications, are about equally divided between those with British doctorates and those with their American counterparts. However these groups combined (numbering fifteen) are all but matched by the combined numbers (thirteen) of those with Australian doctorates (five) and those with New Zealand ones (eight). The remainder of the Political Science workforce with doctorates acquired them elsewhere viz. India, Malaysia and Canada. This leaves approximately one third of the total with sub-doctoral qualifications, and these are almost all holders of Masters degrees from New Zealand. The few exceptions come from British or American universities. This apparently high proportion of political scientists without doctorates may be something of a surprise to non-New Zealanders, but can be explained quite readily as arising from two factors. The first is the British tradition already cited as a once dominant pattern in New Zealand academic life. In this case the operational aspect of the tradition is that, until the current post-war generation of academics came on the scene, a First Class Honours was the *sine qua non* of the academic profession, being regarded as evidence of a highly literate person with an enquiring mind, who, having been trained in one discipline, was presumably capable of assimilating others of a like kind. Hence two of the existing Professors have such a qualification and in both cases it is in History (!), yet the departments they head are quite identifiably Political Science ones. The second factor was the relatively low levels of salaries in New Zealand universities before the implementation of the Parry Report. This deterred American or British political scientists at that time from seeking positions here, which consequently were filled locally. However, it is quite clear that the professional political scientist who lacks a doctorate is an historical accident and increasingly an anachronism, and that the phenomenon is unlikely to continue when the present incumbents of these positions retire – which in most cases is fairly soon.

2. Career Prospects for Political Scientists

To put it bluntly no careers involving the day-to-day application of an academic training in the discipline exist outside of the universities, and now that the growth phase has passed, opportunities for such employment will become increasingly rare. However, a rough perspective of the placement of political science graduates in the workforce indicates that the training they have received has fitted them (at best in the view of their employers, else they would not hold their jobs) for a surprising range of occupations. The major employers are of course the numerous Government Departments of the Welfare State. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Trade and Industries absorb those with the best academic records, and the Treasury also recruits a few. In the private sector journalism has provided a useful outlet and the nation's top news commentators on radio and television are political science graduates – one with a doctorate. Though the teaching profession at the post-primary level does attract a number of graduates, their employment is not related to their specialization, since the social science syllabus in New Zealand schools does not emphasise civics as it exists in some systems of education, but the extensive section on 'social control' undoubtedly invokes the knowledge of Political Sociology that these graduates hopefully retain and thus put to use.

Unfortunately few opportunities exist for political scientists to figure in the arena of New Zealand politics. There is none of that coming and going of political scientists from the council rooms of Presidents that seems a regular feature of the American scene. Indeed, only one instance can be cited of a political scientist doing a relatively short (two year) stint as a researcher with one of the political parties and subsequently writing a biography of its leader (Henderson, 1981). This does not mean of course that a measure of informal consultation does not take place, but this can hardly be regarded as a career. For instance a few political scientists employed in universities are occasionally consulted on specific matters by, say, the Departments of Foreign Affairs or Defence, but this interest in them can be just as readily attributed to the coincidence that, in each case, they happen to be conversant with a specific Asian society and are fluent in its language, and that their counterparts do not yet exist in the Departments concerned. Hence it is likely that their status as political-scientists has little to do with the case. Recently a breach in the convention of political scientists not being practicing politicians has been made by two exceptions to the rule. The first is the rise to the leadership of the Social Credit League – now no mean force in New Zealand politics – of Mr. Bruce Beetham who has a postgraduate degree (M. Phil.) in political science. The other is the entry into Parliament of the author of a book trenchantly critical of the growing power of the executive (Palmer, 1979). Perhaps the greatest inhibiting factor restraining political scientists from featuring more prominently as consultants to politicians is one deplorable feature of New Zealand society at large (replicated in the body of professional politicians) that strikes foreign observers quite forcibly – this is a traditional suspicion, descending from pioneer days, of the highly educated person as being either a danger on account of that proven ability, or quite contradictorily an impractical 'egg-head' quite unfitted for the world of 'real men'. In either case the net result is the same for the political scientist – he is excluded from participation in the ubiquitous activity of politics which he above all is trained to observe and analyse rationally.

3. Incentives and Mechanisms for Research

The incentives in New Zealand for research in the field of political science are not greatly different than those anywhere else in the academic world. Hopefully intrinsic interest in a perceived problem, and a desire to examine a range of explanations or even solutions, is the prime motivating factor. Nevertheless, a more materialistic and down-to-earth incentive also exists in the observable phenomenon of professional promotion being directly related, not merely to teaching ability, but to the length of the practitioner's publications list. It is true that the output of books is not very great, even considering the small size of the group professionally engaged in the discipline, but on the other hand there is a considerable production of papers on a wide variety of topics. There is no dearth of conferences – not always confined to Political Science – at which to read papers, nor of journals in which to publish them. Further, several 'Readers' or similar edited compendia have appeared, sometimes in consequence of invited or virtually commissioned articles being available (Cleveland and Robinson, 1972); (Henderson, 1980); (Levine, 1978); (Levine, 1979); (Marshall, 1978).

Again, the convention demanding the presentation of an original dissertation or thesis is a major incentive for those yet in process of training. A very large amount of valuable research has been carried out in this way, and is stored in university libraries. Reference to such works can be found in the New Zealand Union List of Theses and its annual updating sections.

The funding of research in political science presents a rather gloomy picture. Most universities and consequently departments in them have very scanty funds for research included in their quinquennial budgets. The University Grants Committee has a Research Grants Committee, which seems ready to fund major enterprises in the natural sciences, but singularly reluctant to invest much in social science research in general and political science in particular. A recently established Social Sciences Research Grants Committee as a sub-committee of the existing body has remedied this situation marginally, but not in the case of political science, since the orientation so far seems to favour 'social work' projects such as drug addiction. Hence political scientists are thrown very much on their own resources and do what they can on study leaves. These are becoming increasingly difficult to fund from the practitioner's salary alone, and there are very few perquisites in the form of money for contract research visible on the political science horizon.

4. Professional Associations and Publications

New Zealand political scientists have long belonged to the Australasian Political Science Association (APSA) and attended its conferences, one of which has actually been held in New Zealand. They have also participated in such portmenteau conferences as the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (ANZAAS). However, in 1974 an inter-departmental conference at Christchurch formed the New Zealand Political Studies Association, appointed officers, adopted a constitution and commenced issuing a *Newsletter*. It also arranged for area co-ordinators in the universities of New Zealand and for two in Australia. Since then several successful conferences have been held at which a wide variety of papers were presented. The last such conference was in Dunedin in May 1982. Membership is not restricted to the profession, and now stands at over 300. This is gratifying in a small population, but underlines the main handicap under which the NZPSA labours – it is dependent entirely on membership fees, which cannot be raised beyond a fairly modest level, without discouraging membership. Fortunately departments of Political Science have co-operated in providing such underpinning as secretarial and related services. Also, there is a triennial departmental meeting funded by the Vice Chancellors' Committee, and conferences are timed to immediately precede or follow these meetings, thus making the best use of this limited funding. It is probably for financial reasons that the NZPSA remains unaffiliated with the International Political Science Association (IPSA), though individual members of the former have attended conferences of the latter, when the time and location of their study leaves proved conveniently coincidental. Mention has already been made of the New Zealand Institute of Public Administration and the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs. To these must be added a fairly recent New Zealand Asian Studies Association which holds conferences from time to time and provides yet another venue for the presentation of research papers.

The journals connected with the various Associations have already been mentioned from time to time in this text, but may be collated here as follows.

Political Science, Journal of NZPSA (Twice-yearly)

Newsletter (occasional)

New Zealand Journal of Public Administration, Now re-named

Public Sector, Journal of the NZIPA (quarterly)

New Zealand International Review, Journal of the NZIIA (monthly)

Local Authority Adminstration edited by the Department of Political Studies at Auckland.

To sum up then, the profession of Political Science in New Zealand though miniscule compared to its counterparts in North America and elsewhere, is organised in much the same way, and within the constraints imposed by size and very limited finance conducts itself no less professionally than any similar body.

IV. AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE

New Zealand has a Commission for the Future, which not long ago, and after much deliberation by its members, who had distinguished themselves in many walks of life, produced a report listing alternative scenarios for the future. Though varying in degrees of optimism, all of these agreed in one respect – the economic situation of this distant land would be far from rosy as it advanced into the Twenty-first Century. Political Science is unlikely to be exempt from these economic constraints any more than associated disciplines, and must therefore reconcile itself to the passing of the halcyon 1960s. In addition, though students continue to study Political Science in substantial numbers it must also be recognised that, not only have the products of the post-war 'baby-boom' come and gone, and that their successors are not only fewer in number, but are likely to opt for vocationally oriented training programmes within or without the university system. Those who do not make such a choice may not be sufficiently motivated to face the very real sacrifices they will have to make if they really want to attend university, and predictably many will not do so. Hence a continuing steep rise in rolls is unlikely and may even be replaced by a perceptible drop. Further, recent changes in university funding involving a switch from a base calculated on the number of university teachers deemed necessary for a given size of establishment, to a straight salary base limiting how much can be spent on a given department, virtually regardless of the staff student ratio above a certain optimum, cannot but produce a situation where retiring or resigning members of staff may not be replaced. Thus an already small group may be further whittled away by a 'sinking lid' policy against which it has no redress in the face of adamant retrenchment orientated university administrations backed by their paymasters, the University Grants Commission.

One foreseeable consequence will be the non-implementation of many, if not most, of the worthy projects enumerated among the aims and objects of the Constitution of NZPSA. One cannot see support for publication of books in these circumstances or the sponsoring of study groups and specialized conferences, or the development of a much needed national survey facility to co-ordinate and improve hitherto piecemeal studies in quantifiable areas of research such as psephology. Again, the cost of travel overseas or the engaging of research assistants will predictably become prohibitive and New Zealand political scientists' already tenuous contacts with overseas colleagues further attenuated.

Nevertheless there may be some worthwhile consequences of this seemingly dismal freeze on resources and research efforts. First, it may compel the various departments to rationalize their teaching offerings and by effecting a long overdue division of emphasis make the best use of their resources, instead of one-and-all spreading their butter too thinly. Secondly, restrictions on mobility of researchers, even within New Zealand, may force a degree of co-operation, hitherto rarely seen, in the exchange of research materials, failing which none of the parties involved would have material that could be regarded as having a critical mass generating sound research. Thirdly, since quite a lot of publication in New Zealand has been about events and concerns outside New Zealand, the forced introversion of interest may result in some of those gaps being filled in important but hitherto neglected areas that are the proper province of the political scientist – the parliamentary process, decision-making procedures, interest group studies, the dynamics of political change and the emergence of ethnic politics are merely some that come to mind. Thus perhaps it may not be entirely without merit that economic misfortune is forcing a degree of self-examination among the practitioners of the discipline, from which may emerge a more rigorous and tightly co-ordinated band of survivors to maintain and promote their craft in the face of adverse conditions until those blasts have passed. Whatever the outcome, no political scientist of the future will be able to deny the very apposite applicability to New Zealand of that rather rueful Latin tag *Politica est res dura* (Politics is a hard thing)!

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